MISSIONS OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

JAMAICA
OLD CALABAR
KAFFRARIA
RAJPUTANA
MANCHURIA

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Missions

of the

United Presbyterian Church

described in a

Series of Stories

I. The Story of the Jamaica Mission
With Sketch of the Mission in Trinidad
By GEORGE ROBSON, D.D.

II. The Story of the Old Calabar Mission
By WILLIAM DICKIE, M.A.

III. The Story of the Kaffraria Mission
By WILLIAM J. SLOWAN

IV. The Story of the Rajputana Mission
By JOHN ROBSON, D.D.

V. The Story of the Manchuria Mission
By Mrs. DUNCAN M'LAREN

Edinburgh
OFFICES OF UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
1896

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INTRODUCTION.

THERE have now been published by the Foreign Mission Board the Stories of our five principal Missions. Written by different authors, four of whom had a personal acquaintance with the fields they wrote about, these Stories aim at giving in a popular form a sufficiently full account of each Mission. But the history of the missionary enterprise of our Church covers a somewhat wider range.

The movement which gave birth to the Secession Church was essentially a spiritual movement. It sought the vindication and diffusion of the truth of the gospel. When the Associate Presbytery had been constituted at Gairney Bridge on 5th December 1733, earnest calls for a supply of gospel preaching began to pour in from all parts of Scotland, as well as from England and Ireland; and the Fathers of the Secession, while endeavouring to satisfy the requests of their countrymen at home, were also nobly alive to the spiritual needs of their countrymen abroad. Before twenty years had passed, they had begun that missioning of ministers and licentiates to Pennsylvania, New York, Nova Scotia, and Canada, which helped, in the early days of these colonies, to lay

the foundations of the Presbyterian Churches now flourishing there.

The Relief Church had its origin in the noble stand made by Thomas Gillespie for evangelical truth and congregational rights against ecclesiastical intolerance. The "Presbytery of Relief" was constituted at Colinsburgh on 22nd October 1861; and in seeking to carry the gospel into destitute parts of Scotland, in sending ministers to the colonists across the Atlantic, and in furnishing missionaries to the Missionary Societies, the Relief Church, like the Secession, manifested the impulse of a missionary spirit.

The Foreign Mission Revival, which took place in the end of last century, did not at first bear fruit in the way of church action. It gave birth to the Scottish (Edinburgh) and the Glasgow Missionary Societies, and to numerous other missionary societies throughout the country, which were practically auxiliaries to these and to the London Missionary Society. It was through this free operation of the missionary spirit that the people received the training which prepared them for welcoming the principle of a Church mission. Then, when controversy on other questions rendered it difficult for members of different denominations to maintain cordial co-operation in the work of the Missionary Associations, the various Churches found it easy to take over the Missions in which they were specially interested. So the Missionary Societies in Scotland gave place at length to the better order of Missionary Churches.

How our own Church entered on its various missions may here be briefly indicated. The movement for the abolition of slavery awoke concern in Christian hearts for the spiritual needs of the slaves in Jamaica. In 1835

the Secession Church sent its first missionaries to labour amongst them, alongside of the missionaries of the Scottish Missionary Society. So Jamaica became our first foreign mission field. As the emancipated negroes realised the blessings of the gospel, they became desirous of sending it to their kindred in Africa, from whom they had been torn away. Hence arose the Old Calabar Mission, founded by the Secession Church in 1846, with the cordial support of the Relief Church. In the following year the Secession and Relief Churches united under the name of the United Presbyterian Church, and immediately thereafter our Church took over the Jamaica Mission of the Scottish Missionary Society, amalgamating it with our own, and also the Kaffraria Mission of the Glasgow Missionary Society, which had been chiefly supported by the Relief Church. The Indian Mutiny of 1857 awoke the Christians of Britain from their apathy to the spiritual well-being of the heathen millions of that vast dependency; and one result was the inauguration in 1860 of our Rajputana Mission. A remarkable train of providences led to our beginning work in South China in 1862, and in 1872 in the northern province of Manchuria, where our China Mission was ultimately concentrated. The rise and progress of the work in each of these fields is the subject of a separate Story.

But we have representatives also in other fields. The wonderful opening of Japan induced our Church to enter in, in 1873, along with other Churches and Societies, to plant the gospel in that promising land; but the course of events has devolved upon other Churches the leading part in propagating it there. We still maintain our Mission in Japan, but it is in fields more exclusively our

own that we are called to seek the expansion of our missionary efforts. We also bear a limited, but welcome, share in Foreign Missions carried on by other Churches. The Rev. Dr. Laws is our representative in the Livingstonia Mission of the Free Church of Scotland; and our obligation to seek the evangelisation of Israel is recognised by our sustaining the Rev. John Soutar in the Galilee Mission of the Free Church, and one of the staff of the Aleppo Mission of the Presbyterian Church in England. We also provide an annual subsidy to the Irish Presbyterian Church for the carrying on of mission work in Spain, a field where we formerly laboured, but where we deemed it right to terminate our separate organisation.

In each Story will be found the statistics of that particular Mission. Here it need only be said that, in all, "we have a staff of 154 fully trained agents, of whom 70 are ordained European missionaries, 14 medical missionaries, 19 ordained native pastors, 12 European evangelists, and 39 Zenana missionaries; while under the superintendence of these agents there are 170 native evangelists, 383 native teachers, 121 native Zenana workers, and 45 other native helpers. In connection with our various Missions we have 109 congregations, with 175 out-stations at which services are regularly conducted, and at many of which congregations will soon be formed. These 109 congregations have an aggregate membership of 19,949, with 3644 candidates for admission to the fellowship of the Church" (*Annual Report*, April 1896).

The history of our Foreign Missions furnishes striking evidence of the guidance of the Holy Spirit, as well as numerous illustrations of heroic devotion and noble

service, and of Divine blessing upon the Church's obedience to her Lord's great command. The truth of this will be apparent to the attentive reader of the Story of each Mission. And it is earnestly hoped that the perusal of these Stories will call forth more fervent gratitude to God for what has been wrought in the past, and stimulate to more faithful service in praying and in giving, that the work may go forward from year to year to the greater glory of God.

GEORGE ROBSON,
Convener of the Home Committee of the Foreign Mission Board.

August 1896

James Patterson

Missions of the

United Presbyterian Church

THE STORY OF OUR JAMAICA MISSION

WITH

SKETCH OF OUR TRINIDAD MISSION

BY

GEORGE ROBSON, D.D.

Edinburgh
OFFICES OF UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
1894

MORRISON AND GIBB, PRINTERS, EDINBURGH.

PREFACE

The story of our Jamaica Mission lies within a larger story—a chapter of Divine Providence in respect of a section of the African race, the purpose of which is not yet unfolded. This conviction has shaped the subsequent narrative. A true view of our mission enterprise in Jamaica requires not only a certain knowledge of the history of the island, and of the history of slavery and its still surviving influences, but also a continual outlook upon the material and social surroundings to which the progress of our mission work stands related. The length of the time and the width of the field to be covered have rendered it almost impossible to introduce into the narrative such particular illustrations and incidents as enliven the published biographies of Jamaican missionaries. But I have sought to tell the story so as to make it also in some measure a "handbook" to our Jamaica Mission.

A grateful acknowledgment is due to the Rev. John Moore, B.D., Old Meldrum, who undertook the labour of preparing the chronological tables.

G. R.

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PART I

THE STORY OF OUR JAMAICA MISSION

CHAPTER I

STORY OF THE COLONY DOWN TO THE PRESENT CENTURY

Discovery.

It was during his second voyage to the New World, on 3rd May 1494, that Christopher Columbus discovered Jamaica.

Name.

As he approached the north-eastern shore, and landed at St. Ann's Bay, the splendour of the mountains and the luxuriant beauty of the scenery suggested to him the name of Santa Gloria. He found the island peopled by Caribs[1] of a gentle type and

[1] The Caribs, who at this time peopled most of the West Indian islands, were of a light copper colour, and generally distinguished by a daring and independent spirit. A simple change of "r" to "l" converted the name Carib into the Spanish word for "dog," and by that epithet the Spaniards usually described them. Hence the name "Caliban" in Shakespeare's *Tempest*.

friendly temper, exhibiting a superior form of barbarous life. From them he learned that the native name was Xaymaica—"land of woods and waters,"—a name so felicitous, as well as distinctive and euphonious, that it easily maintained its position both in Spanish and in English.

Not less distinctive is the situation of Jamaica. From the promontory of Yucatan, in Central America, a chain of islands stretches eastwards, with a slightly southern inclination, for some 1500 miles, and then curves due south towards the mouth of the Orinoco, in South America. Cuba is the first and largest island of the chain, and lies just under the tropic of Cancer; eastwards the islands gradually lessen in size; while the part of the chain running south has the appearance of a breakwater of innumerable islets warding off the waves of the Atlantic from the enclosure of the Caribbean Sea. Within this enclosure, as if it were the guarded jewel of the sea, lies Jamaica, due south of Cuba and west of Hayti.[1] In shape its outline resembles a seal swimming due west. Having a length of 144 miles, and a breadth varying from 21 to 49 miles, it contains an area equal to rather less than a seventh of Scotland.

Situation.

For more than a century and a half Jamaica was held by the Spaniards, whose merciless treatment of the aborigines rapidly exterminated them, and so induced the importation of slaves from Africa to supply the needed labour. The Spaniards proudly claimed an exclusive right to all the lands of the New World; and this right they sought to enforce in the West Indies, by perpetrating wholesale

Becomes an English colony.

[1] Between 17° 43′ and 18° 32′ lat. N., and 76° 11′ and 78° 20′ long. W.

atrocities upon English settlers in different islands. To put an end to such cruel arrogance, Cromwell despatched an expedition to the West Indies in 1655; its sole success was the capture of Jamaica. Three years later, the Spanish Governor who had surrendered the island made a strong attempt to recapture it, but the attempt was signally defeated, and the name of Runaway Bay, in St. Ann's Parish—so called because from thence the defeated Spaniard fled in a canoe to Cuba—commemorates the disappearance of the Spanish power from the island. In 1661, Jamaica may be said to have been formally enrolled as a colony of England, as in that year General D'Oyley received from Charles II. a commission as Governor of the island, with provisions for constituting the government, while a Royal proclamation declared the children of English subjects born in Jamaica to be "free denizens of England." The population of the island was then little more than 3000, the half of whom were slaves.

General history of the colony.

Very soon after the establishment of English government, new settlers arrived. Out of many agricultural industries then prosecuted, the cultivation of sugar rapidly assumed the lead, and yielded large profits. From this time, until Canada and Australia began to loom into importance, Jamaica was prized as the richest of British colonies. The list of Governors contains some names of highest rank in the peerage, and others eminent in history. At first Port Royal was the residence of the Governor, but as early as 1664, Spanish Town became the seat of government. There, in January 1664, an Assembly was convened; and from that time a Legislative Assembly has, with only brief intervals, continued to frame the laws of the colony and to watch over its interests. Collisions were

not infrequent between the Assembly and the higher powers. The rich and masterful colonists would not brook any curtailment of their privileges, and in their contentions with the Governor or appeals to the Crown they were generally successful. The history of the colony for at least a century and a half presents hardly one noble feature. It is little better than a history of the eager and in large measure unscrupulous pursuit of material wealth, and of the evils and conflicts which naturally followed.

Slavery.

In the island itself, the getting of wealth through the cultivation of its fertile soil was polluted by the inhumanities of slavery. Immediately after the discovery of the New World, the demand for labour in its mines and plantations, of which the Western nations of Europe were rapidly taking possession, gave an immense stimulus to the traffic in slaves from Africa. This traffic was at first promoted most actively by the Spaniards, but in 1562 Sir John Hawkins engaged English ships in it, and thereafter it became a recognised department of English commerce. At least four companies were formed in succession, each of which possessed under Royal charter the sole right to traffic with Africa, but they were unable to exclude other traders, and none survived for any length of time. The Revolution of 1688 threw the trade open, and from this time it flourished. In the year 1771 no fewer than 192 ships sailed from England for Africa (107 of these from Liverpool), with provision for the transport of 47,146 slaves. The entries show that from 1700 to 1786 the number of slaves imported into Jamaica alone was 610,000, or an average of 7000 a year.

However considerate some of the planters may have been in their treatment of their slaves, it is undeniable

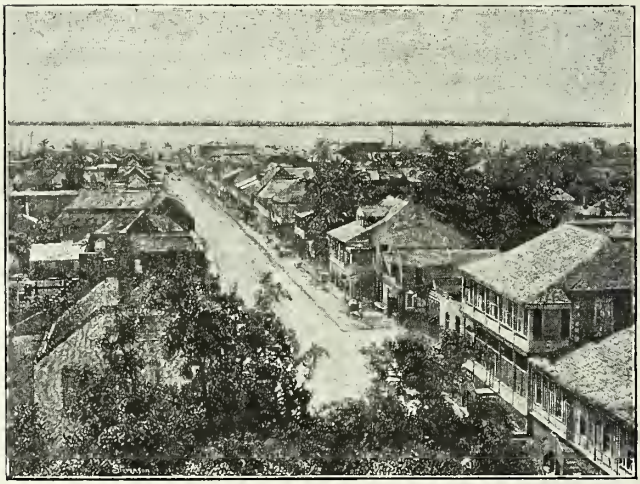
that the mortality among the slaves was enormous; immorality was universal; and the oppressions practised by the masters provoked from time to time reckless revenges on the part of the slaves, and fomented continually the peril of wider disturbance. Slaves were always escaping into the mountainous parts of the island, where there were already alien bands, composed of the descendants of the mixed breed of Spaniards and blacks. These, known as the *maroons*, lived practically the life of freebooters, and at recurring intervals became so aggressive that regular military operations were resorted to for their suppression. Under an able leader called Cudjoe, the maroons proved so formidable, that Governor Edward Trelawney, in 1738, wisely solved the difficulty by arranging a treaty with them, and settling them on lands assigned to them in different parts of the island. An outbreak of the Trelawney maroons in the end of the century issued in 500 of them being deported to Sierra Leone. Of the various insurrections of the slaves during this century, the most serious took place in St. Mary's Parish in 1760. It began in a midnight massacre of the whites on different estates, to the number of between thirty and forty, and ended after a brief struggle in the infliction of a merciless retribution. Three ringleaders were reserved for death by special torture: one was burned alive; two others were hung in chains on Kingston Parade to die of starvation after eight or nine days.

Troubles from slavery.

But the acquisition of wealth was pursued also in another direction. At the end of the long spit of land known as the Palisades, which encloses the magnificent harbour of Kingston, stands Port Royal, a favourable centre for com-

The wealth of Port Royal.

mercial or naval operations. In the latter part of the seventeenth century it was celebrated as the finest town in the West Indies, the "wealthiest and wickedest" in the world. It had become the headquarters of a system of privateering which was no better than legalised piracy, and which brought to Port Royal not only the pillage gotten upon the seas, but also the spoils of



A STREET IN KINGSTON TO-DAY, WITH VIEW OF THE PALISADES IN THE DISTANCE.

marauding expeditions to neighbouring shores. The inhabitants revelled accordingly in an ill-gotten wealth, far exceeding the gains brought to them by legitimate commerce. In 1692, in the climax of its pride and luxury, an awful earthquake all but annihilated the town: whole streets disappeared into the earth, nine-tenths of the buildings were destroyed, and 3000

of the inhabitants perished. Eleven years later, when beginning to recover from the disaster of the earthquake, it was laid in ruins by a fire, which spared only the royal forts and magazines; and seventeen years later, when a second attempt to restore the town seemed about to succeed, a fearful hurricane swept many of the buildings into the sea, left only six mastless ships out of fifty that had been riding in the harbour, and finally reduced Port Royal to a mere dependency and naval defence of Kingston, which rose into existence upon the first destruction of the Port by the earthquake.

But Port Royal was by no means the only sufferer. At various intervals, the whole island, or large portions of it, were devastated by hurricanes, earthquakes, and tidal waves. In 1740 a huge tidal wave swept over the town of Savannah-la-Mar, and in an instant wiped out man, beast, and habitation, "as a man wipeth a dish and turneth it upside down." Catastrophes like these mingle in the story of human avarice and crime like signals of Divine judgment.

Storms.

Jamaica has also been menaced by the storms of war, and the names of several of England's naval heroes are associated with the defence of the coveted colony. An invasion by the French fleet under Du Casse, in 1694, projected in the interests of the exiled Stuart dynasty, was ultimately defeated by the colonial militia. In 1702 occurred the famous sea-fight in which the same French admiral was engaged for five days by Admiral Benbow, but escaped on the eve of capitulation in consequence of the cowardice of two of the English captains, while the gallant Benbow returned to Port Royal to die of his wounds. When France in 1778 became the ally of the United States in the War of Independence, the French

Threatened invasions of the island.

fleet captured some of the West Indian possessions, but did not attack Jamaica. Spain joined France in this alliance, and the Governor of Jamaica forthwith despatched a successful but resultless expedition against the Spanish citadel in Nicaragua; in a subordinate command in this expedition Lord Nelson began his naval career. Three years later, Admiral Rodney won his peerage by the great victory which shattered the French fleet when on its way to effect a junction with the Spanish fleet, preparatory to the invasion of Jamaica. More than twenty years afterwards, the French and Spanish fleets again threatened Jamaica, but Lord Nelson chased them from their course; and in the following year, 1806, Admiral Duckworth routed the French fleet off St. Domingo, and brought the captured prizes to Port Royal. The hold of Britain upon this lucrative colony was thus, although often menaced, successfully maintained.

During the eighteenth century Jamaica had steadily grown in importance and wealth. Towards its close the fortunes of the planters were probably at their zenith. A remunerative market was open to them; the supply of slaves was plentiful. In the island there were upwards of 300,000. So prosperous was the island, that in 1798 the colonists voluntarily subscribed a million sterling to aid the mother-country in the war against France.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century.

But the prosperity of the planters was linked to many evils. The frequent wars between the powers holding possessions in the West Indies occasioned a baleful revival of privateering, piracy, and other lawlessness, familiarising that region with ghastly crimes and organised plunder.[1] In the island the sugar trade was

[1] This period is vividly portrayed in Michael Scott's novels, *Tom Cringle's Log* and *The Cruise of the Midge*.

king. The paradise of capital was the inferno of labour. Religion was visible only in occasional formalities; profanity and immorality abounded. The slaves were kept in brutish ignorance, doubly victimised by their own heathen superstitions and by the vices of their owners.

There appeared, however, omens of impending change. In 1808 the African slave trade was abolished. The wars occurring immediately thereafter closed the market to the planters, and together with the devastating storms which swept the island at this time occasioned much financial distress, while there was much suffering among the slaves. Already, too, the mother-country had begun to interpose between the planters and their slaves in the interests of humanity.

CHAPTER II

THE INTRODUCTION OF EARLIER MISSIONS

During all this time the provision made for religion in connection with the Church of England was absolutely destitute of a missionary character. The commission of Charles II., appointing Colonel D'Oyley first Governor, instructed him, amongst other things, "to discourage vice and debauchery, and to encourage ministers, that Christianity, according to the Church of England, might have due reverence and exercise." Twenty years later, the Jamaica Assembly passed an Act fixing the salaries of the rectors for each of the fifteen parishes. Towards the close of the eighteenth century the salaries were augumented, and made payable out of the public treasury instead of from parochial assessments; at the same time it was made a legal requirement—the anti-slavery agitation had begun at home—that the clergy should "instruct all free persons of colour, and slaves who might be willing to be baptized and informed in the tenets of the Christian religion." Even at this time, however, several of the parishes were still wholly destitute of churches. Many of the rectors notoriously degraded their sacred office. In general, they winked at the vices of the whites, and utterly ignored the religious needs of the blacks. Occasionally the slaves were marshalled, without instruction or explanation,

The Episcopal Establishment.

before the verandah of the "great house," when a wholesale sprinkling with water imparted to them a meaningless baptism. The State provision for religion was not of a kind fitted to advance it. Nothing was further from the real aims of the colonial Government than the evangelisation of the thousands of African heathen under its care.

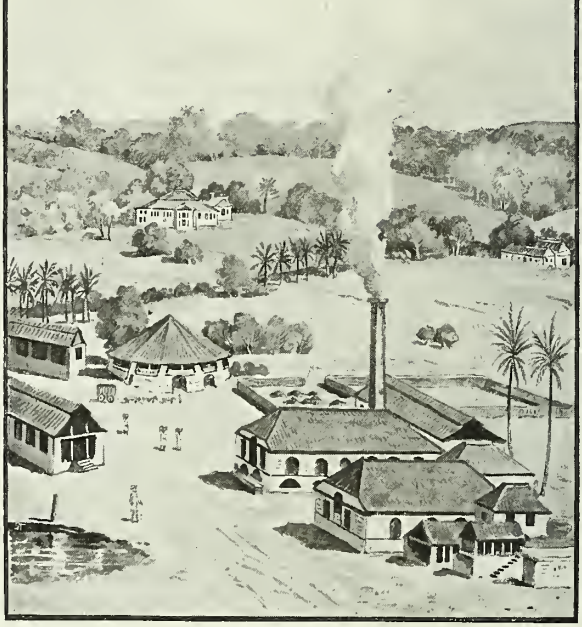
The Moravians.

The Moravians were the first to recognise in the natives of Jamaica a field for gospel labour. The very first of the magnificent series of Moravian missions was to the slaves in the Danish island of St. Thomas in 1732. While entering other fields in various parts of the world, they still pushed forward their work in the West Indies, and in 1754 they sent Zechariah Caries and two others to Jamaica to preach the gospel on the Bogue Estate in St. Elizabeth. It was a hard task. The very existence of slavery rendered the situation inherently difficult, while all the contentions on which slavery rested confronted the missionaries with active opposition. But in the patience of faith they opened additional stations, and laboured according to their opportunities.

The Wesleyans.

The next Europeans to enter Jamaica as a field for gospel labour were the Wesleyans. Dr. Thomas Coke, the devoted associate of the Wesleys and the "flying angel" of Wesleyanism, sailed in 1786 to settle three missionaries in Nova Scotia; but, being driven by stress of weather to Antigua, Dr. Coke was led in the providence of God to begin the Wesleyan mission to the West Indies. In 1789 he visited Jamaica, and prepared the way for the first Wesleyan missionary, the Rev. William Hammett;

and by two subsequent visits, in 1792 and 1793, in both of which he travelled across the island, he laid the foundations of an extended work. The headquarters of the mission being in Kingston, the Wesleyan mission-



A SUGAR ESTATE.

aries were more directly exposed to public notice than the Moravians in the west. The fear and anger excited among the planters by their labours, and by other similar labours occurring at this time, occasioned the

most determined measures for their suppression. An Act was passed in the Assembly in 1802, making it illegal to preach to the slaves. All religious services by unauthorised persons, or at unauthorised times, were prohibited. John Williams of Morant Bay, a free man of colour, was sentenced to a month's imprisonment with hard labour for praying and singing hymns. Several of the regular ministers also suffered imprisonment for conducting religious services. The Wesleyan chapel, built on the Parade at Kingston, was closed by the town authorities, and worship prohibited from 1807 to 1815. So intense was the antagonism to every movement which recognised the claims of the coloured population to civil and religious equality with the whites!

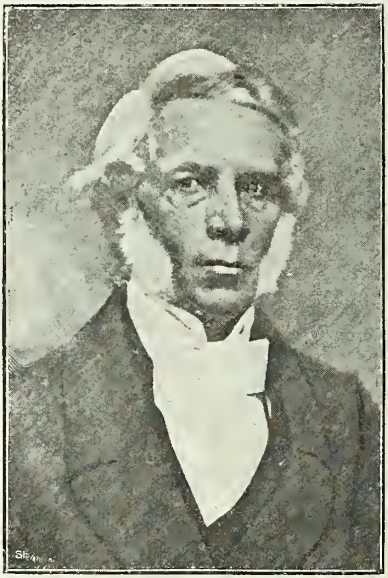
The Baptists.

Even before the Wesleyans entered Jamaica, a humble negro, who had been himself a slave, came from America to carry the gospel to his kinsmen in bondage. This was George Lisle. His former master, a British officer, was one of a few who about this time liberated all their slaves. Lisle, while earning his living as a carrier, developed gifts as a preacher, and was appointed pastor of a coloured congregation of Baptists in the United States; but he resigned his charge, that, along with one or two others "like himself in spirit and training," he might convey the solace of the gospel to the Jamaican slaves. He had large audiences, and a brick chapel was built for him in Kingston; but he was soon charged with seditious practices, and thrown in chains into prison. A native barber, named Moses Baker, took up the work. Sincere and devoted, he soon acquired great influence among his followers; but he was silenced, and his work disorganised, by the prohibitory legislation already

referred to. Unhappily, the crude ideas and imperfect knowledge of these uneducated Native Baptists tended to disparage the written Word, introduced not a few superstitious forms into the Christianity they taught, and led to practices that at the time and for long afterwards exercised a very injurious influence.

Baker corresponded with Dr. Rylands of Bristol, one of the band of Christian men who were carrying forward the anti-slavery agitation, and earnestly urged on him the sending of a preacher from England. At length, in 1814, the Baptist Missionary Society sent out the Rev. John Rowe, who found, however, no liberty to disseminate the gospel except through quiet labour in a day-school, and died two years afterwards, just when liberty to preach was on the point of being conceded. He was followed by others, who extended their labours in all directions through the island. Together with the Wesleyans, the Baptist missionaries had to bear the brunt of the antipathy and persecution directed by the propertied classes against those who aimed at the liberation of the slaves. The very ignorance of the slaves, and their impatient excitability, rendered it oftentimes peculiarly difficult to appear as their champions. But the task was fulfilled loyally, and for the most part judiciously. Most prominent in this connection was the Rev. William Knibb,[1] who upheld the cause of the slave, not always with discretion, but with a fearless courage, publicity, and persistency, which frequently exposed him to serious peril, but won for him in the end widespread recognition.

[1] Mr. Knibb landed in Kingston in 1825, to succeed his brother as a teacher. He shortly afterwards became a minister, and died in 1845, in the forty-second year of his age. His funeral, on the day after his death, was attended by upwards of 8000 persons.



Geo B Cluett

CHAPTER III

THE BEGINNINGS OF OUR MISSION

Our present mission had a twofold origin: first, in the mission of the Scottish Missionary Society; and secondly, in the mission of the Secession Church.

SCOTTISH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The enthusiasm inaugurated by the departure of William Carey for India gave birth in Scotland to missionary societies in Glasgow and Edinburgh, the latter of which assumed the name of the Scottish Missionary Society. Founded in 1796, it sent out Peter Greig in the following year to Sierra Leone, the Rev. Henry Brunton in 1802 to Tartary, and the Rev. Donald Mitchell in 1822 to India. Nor was it unmindful of the obligations of Scottish Christianity towards the enslaved children of Africa in Jamaica. As early as 1800 it sent out the Rev. Joseph Bethune and two catechists to Kingston, but Mr. Bethune and one of the catechists died within a few weeks of a malignant fever then raging, and the other catechist found his efforts so completely hindered by the legislative enactments already referred to, that he accepted a post as a teacher. Even after legislative hindrances were removed, there were serious difficulties in the way. No freedom of access could be had to the

First mission unsuccessful.

slaves without the consent of the planter, no measures organised for their benefit without his approval. The planters generally regarded the missionaries as pestilent agitators. The situation was aggravated by the absenteeism of many of the proprietors. The immense fortunes acquired in Jamaica could be much more pleasantly enjoyed at home. Accordingly a large proportion of the estates were under the management of attorneys and overseers, who felt none of the exemplary obligations of proprietorship, and sought only to please their principals by the amount of the annual profit. Such absenteeism was, of course, generally detrimental to the interests of the slaves. But indirectly it gave rise to the Presbyterian mission. Amongst the slave-owners were some to whom the ownership of slaves was involuntary and unwelcome. Their estates had come to them by inheritance, and in the position to which they had succeeded they desired to promote the welfare of the human beings who were in law their property. Direct acts of emancipation by individual proprietors entailed results which made them shrink from such a policy. Some owners resident in Scotland, notably the well-known family of the Stirlings of Keir, approached the Scottish Missionary Society in 1823 with a proposal that the Society should send out missionaries to the slaves on their estates, and that they, the owners, should bear half the expense. The proposal was cordially accepted, and the Rev. George Blyth was appointed a missionary to the slaves. Three years before, Mr. Blyth had entered on mission work in Tartary, but he had been compelled to abandon his post in consequence of receiving an Imperial order to that effect, and had returned home with the view of proceeding to India,

A new mission proposed.

when the call to go to Jamaica was placed in his hands.

Landing of the Rev. G. Blyth.

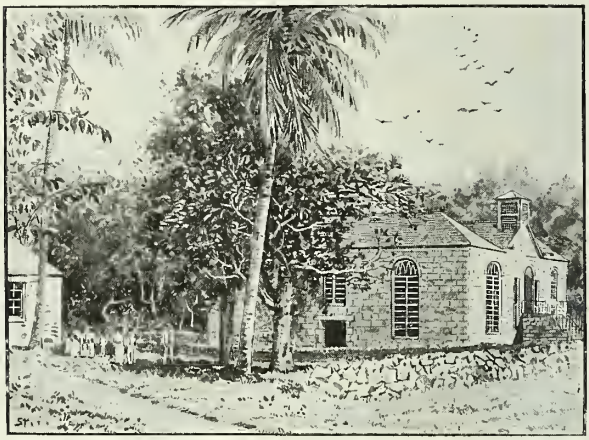
Mr. Blyth landed in the island in February 1824. The editor of a colonial paper advised the magistrates to send him back to Scotland by the ship in which he had come out, if they wished to preserve the island from assassination and bloodshed; but by the attorneys of the gentlemen who were co-operating in the mission he was courteously

HAMPDEN CHURCH (FRONT VIEW), SHOWING ENTRANCE TO GALLERY.

received, finding an open door and an ample field. The estates of Hampden and Dundee, in the parish of Trelawney, on the undulating plains which lie at a slight elevation inward from the towns of Montego Bay and Falmouth, became the centre of his work; and at length, on 23rd June 1828, there was opened for worship, on a site granted by A. Stirling, Esq. of Keir, on his estate of Hampden, a commodious and substantial

stone church, erected through the liberality of Mr. Stirling, Mr. Stothert, proprietor of Dundee, and other proprietors, together with aid from Scotland. The various prayer meetings throughout the district were now formed into a congregation, and on the following Sabbath 70 persons, the majority of them slaves, sat down at the Lord's Table, Mrs. Blyth assisting her husband in the

The first congregation.



HAMPDEN CHURCH (SIDE VIEW), SHOWING ENTRANCE TO AREA.[1]

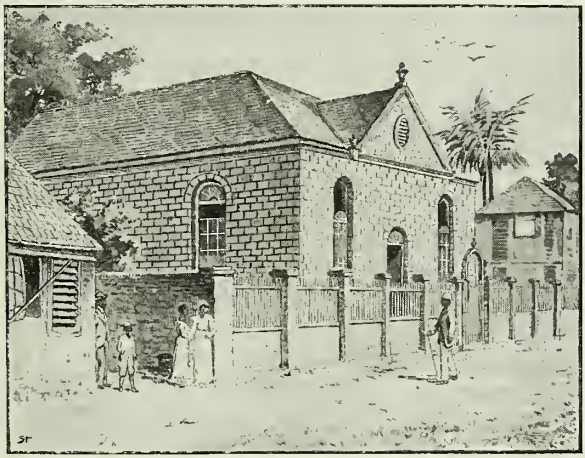
distribution of the elements. This was the first foundation of the Presbyterian Church in Jamaica.

Already in the previous year two other missionaries had reached the island. The Rev. James Watson began work at Lucea, a town beautifully situated at the head of a lovely bay towards the western extremity

[1] It will be noticed that we have selected for illustrations the church of the first congregation in each Presbytery.

of the northern shore.[1] He speedily extended the work to Greenisland, a seaside town still farther west, of which the Rev. John Simpson became in 1831 the first minister. Mr. Watson's companion, the Rev. John Chamberlain, went eastward to Port Maria, and after two years' labour formed a congregation there, which in two years more

Other stations begun by the Society.

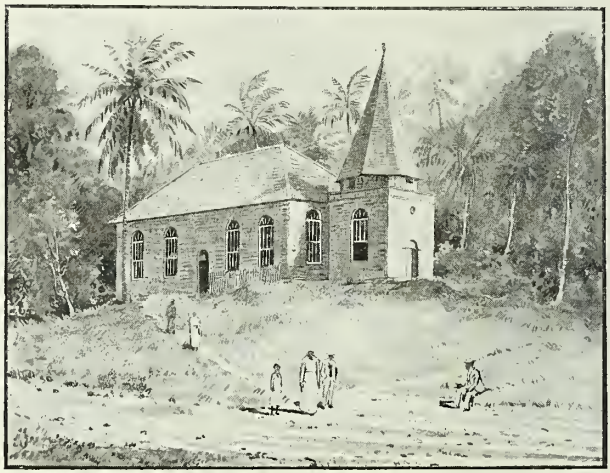


LUCEA CHURCH.

erected a handsome church. One of the resident proprietors, who had shown himself friendly to mission

[1] When he was put ashore, a complete stranger, on the beach, the first person he accosted was a little coloured girl whom he found playing there. She joined his Sabbath school as soon as it was begun, and early became a member of his congregation. When I visited Lucea in 1890 she was still hale and well, universally esteemed, and by none more than Mr. Risk Thomson, our missionary there, as one who gave herself to prayers for the work of God in the congregation.

work among the slaves, was Mr. Barrett, who owned the Cinnamon Hill and Cornwall Estates to the east of Montego Bay. When the Rev. Hope M. Waddell arrived in the island in 1829, he visited various places offering an opening for work, and, to the great joy of Mrs. Barrett, an earnest Christian lady, gave the preference to these estates, and was accommodated in



PORT MARIA CHURCH.

the Estate residence at Cornwall. Three years later, the Rev. John Cowan began work at Carronhall, and in the same year, 1832, these six brethren formed themselves into the Jamaica Mission Presbytery.

At home the operations of the Scottish Missionary

Society were not receiving the support they merited. The income was declining. That it was only an Edinburgh society, while Glasgow had its separate missionary society, was a source of weakness; and not less so was the fact that in adopting an undenominational basis, after the example of the London Missionary Society, it lacked the true adjustment to the conditions of Church life in Scotland. Men of insight were perceiving that the Church itself was the true missionary society, and that the organisation of the Presbyterian Church, especially in its freedom from State restriction, was peculiarly favourable to the prosecution of foreign missions. The propriety of engaging in foreign missions had for some time been discussed in the Secession Church; and at length, on 15th September 1831, at a meeting of Synod addressed by the Rev. George Blyth, the Church resolved to enter on a foreign mission. In the following April the Synod instituted its Canadian Mission,[1] but delayed from one half-year to another[2] the selection of a field among a different race. The Jamaica Mission Presbytery, however, sent home a strong appeal to the Synod to send out a mission which should co-operate with their own in meeting the rapidly increasing and clamant openings for the gospel. A second time a missionary from Jamaica, the Rev. Hope M. Waddell, pleaded the cause before the Synod; and on the same day, 10th September 1834, the Synod

THE SECESSION CHURCH.

Resolves on a foreign mission.

Resolves on a mission to Jamaica.

[1] Previously to this, and from an early period, ministers and probationers had been sent out to supply the spiritual needs of our countrymen in the United States and in Nova Scotia, and also one or two to Canada.

[2] The Synod then met half-yearly, in April and September.

resolved to send at least two missionaries to the West Indies. The Rev. James Paterson, who had for sixteen years been minister of Auchtergaven, but was only thirty-six years of age, a man of considerable talent, devoted zeal, and most amiable disposition, at once offered himself for the work. The second to be appointed was Mr. William Niven, probationer, who was ordained to mission service by the Presbytery of Forfar.[1] They landed in Jamaica in March 1835.

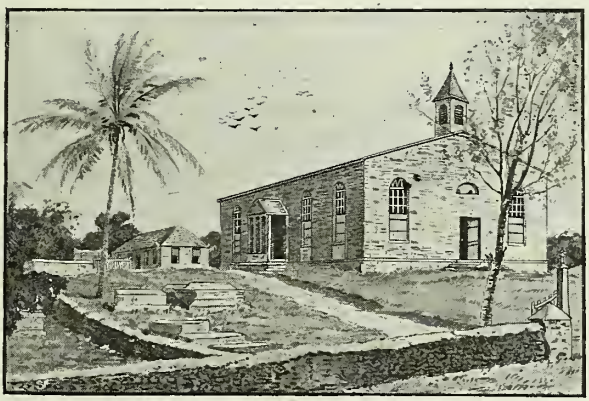
Arrival of Messrs. Paterson and Niven.

While they were on the outward voyage, the congregation of Broughton Place, Edinburgh, undertook the support of Mr. Paterson as their missionary in the foreign field. At first he laboured for nine months, with great acceptance, in Montego Bay, where Mr. Blyth had for two years been preparing the way. But there were large districts in the island where the gospel had never been preached, and seeing that the Montego Bay district was not so entirely destitute, Mr. Paterson felt that he must go where the need was greatest. He crossed the island to the estate of Cocoa Walk, on the wooded slopes of Manchester, above the southern shore. The proprietor, who was resident in England, had authorised the attorney to grant the "great house" to a missionary for residence or church, or both. In the district there was a large population, to whom the gospel was utterly unknown; and there, under a spreading plum-tree, the site of which is marked as a historic spot, Mr. Paterson began to preach to them the glad tidings of great joy. Instruction in Christian truth, education,

Beginning of New Broughton station.

[1] It is a little remarkable that both these missionaries were taken away in the very midst of their usefulness by sudden death, the one killed by an accident on land, the other drowned in a hurricane at sea.

and training in worship and other duties had to be begun from the very foundations amongst the hundreds desirous of a better life. After one year and ten months, on 30th October 1837, a congregation was formed by the reception of 54 out of the candidates' class into church membership; and on the following Sabbath, 5th November, the Lord's Supper was for the first time dispensed among them. In the following January the



NEW BROUGHTON CHURCH.

foundation-stone of a church was laid; and to the new station was given the name of New Broughton.

Mr. William Niven settled at Morgan's Bridge, which occupies a central position in the south-western part of the island. Around him was a population of between four and five thousand souls, connected with thirteen sugar estates and three or four pens (stock farms), and entirely destitute of any religious ordinances beyond the reading of the

The first congregation of the new mission.

Church of England service on one of the estates once a fortnight by a neighbouring teacher. The earnest preaching and incessant labours of Mr. Niven resulted in the early formation of a class of candidates; and on 2nd April 1837 a congregation was formed by the admission of 27 to church membership, and the congregation commemorated together the Lord's death. This was the first missionary congregation of the Secession Church which had been gathered out of heathen ignorance and vice. A church was afterwards built at Stirling Park, in the immediate neighbourhood of Morgan's Bridge; hence the station received the name of Stirling. Possibly the name was adopted the more readily that the Presbytery of Stirling and Falkirk had undertaken to support Mr. Niven as their missionary in Jamaica.

Stirling.

Within less than a year after the arrival of these two missionaries in the island, they were followed by the Rev. Peter Anderson, who was sent out by Regent Place congregation, Glasgow. He found a promising opening in Nassau, an estate in one of the beautiful "valleys which run among the hills" inland from Falmouth, but, being required ere long to quit that estate, he purchased a permanent location for the mission in the neighbouring pen of Bellevue, where a substantial stone church was afterwards erected by Regent Place congregation. A year later (January 1837), the accomplished and saintly William Jameson arrived on the field, as the missionary agent of Rose Street congregation, Edinburgh. He was attracted by its spiritual destitution to Goshen, a secluded place among the hills, where the parishes of St. Ann and St. Mary march. On the Sabbath after his arrival there, he preached in the boiling-house of the

Other missionaries follow.

Estate works to an audience of over five hundred, many of whom came round him at the close, saying, "Tank you, massa, good massa. We soon be able to read good book now, since minister come." In the same year the Rev. James Niven arrived. He took up the work at Flowerhill, an out-station which had been started by his brother in connection with Stirling, and by adding to it a new work at Cross Paths he laid the foundations of two congregations, which were afterwards united into one at Friendship, where Lord Holland had offered ground for a church and school.

Co-operation between the two missions.

It will be noticed that Mr. Paterson was the only missionary of the Secession Church who broke ground in a region entirely distinct from that occupied by the missionaries of the Scottish Society; the others settled down in fields alongside of the latter. There was the friendliest co-operation between them. All the missionaries of the Scottish Society were, in fact, ordained ministers of the Secession Church. Already, in January 1836, the Jamaica Mission Presbytery was reconstituted on a basis which united the ordained members of both missions in the sacred work of organising and building up the newly-founded Presbyterian Church of Jamaica.

What was the moral condition of the island in those years when slavery was drawing to its close? The people were immersed in gross ignorance; marriage was almost unknown, even among the whites, at least in the country districts; the Sabbath was converted into a day of traffic; the grinding routine of slavery was relieved at "Crop-over" and Christmas-time by boisterous revels, such as the masquerading John Connu processions, and the "sets" of "Reds" and "Blues" that paraded about

in tawdry finery and with clamorous din, as well as by dances too often associated with licentiousness; deceit was cultivated as the natural weapon of the oppressed; pilfering was universal; and the debasing superstitions of Africa were taught and practised in secret, although the fear of punishment hid them from the eye of overseer and owner. "In all valuable knowledge the people were little superior to the beasts; in practice they were the followers of the father of lies."

CHAPTER IV

THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES

Since the latter part of the seventeenth century all that was best in Britain had been turning against slavery. The poet Cowper voiced the sentiment that was to shape the future. In 1772, Lord Mansfield pronounced the famous judgment in the case of the negro Somerset, brought before the court by the interposition of Granville Sharp, that as soon as a slave set foot in England he was free. In that judgment lay the germ of universal emancipation. The Friends were the first to form an association for the liberation of the negroes. In 1788, Thomas Clarkson carried off the prize at Cambridge University for a Latin dissertation on the unlawfulness of the slave trade; a still better fruit of his study of the question was the solemn devotion of his life to the work of bringing the slave trade to an end. Two years later a committee was formed, and William Wilberforce undertook the Parliamentary conduct of the movement, which issued in 1808 in the abolition of the slave trade. After this it became evident that the evils of slavery could only be ended by the abolition of slavery itself. In 1821, Wilberforce asked Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton to undertake the conduct of this new movement. When

Germ of emancipation.

the latter proposed a measure of gradual abolition, Canning carried against him a series of resolutions recommending the colonial legislatures to adopt ameliorative measures.

The Canning resolutions.

Called upon to give effect to these resolutions, the Jamaica Assembly denied the right of Parliament to interfere in the internal affairs of the island. While pretending to amend the slave trade, they repeatedly attempted to secure the passing of a clause rendering it illegal to receive payments of any kind for imparting instruction to slaves; and when this provision was as often vetoed by the Governor, and a despatch was at length presented to the Assembly pointing out the utter inadequacy of the pretended ameliorations, the Assembly became openly defiant.

The Jamaica Assembly defiant.

The excitement created among the planters and their sympathisers by the struggle against the advancing forces of emancipation could not escape the notice of the slaves. Reports circulated that their freedom was decreed by the king, but the planters were conspiring to withhold it. They decided accordingly to strike a blow for themselves. When the Christmas holidays of 1831—the date fixed upon—arrived, only a few whites here and there had become suspicious of a plot. It seems clear that at first nothing more was intended than a wholesale strike against working as slaves without pay. There was no purpose of bloodshed, and in reality only about a dozen whites lost their lives in the course of the insurrection. But the slaves were resolved to destroy what was to them the machinery of slavery. The signal was given in the firing of the Estate of Kensington; and on that night, the 28th December, Mr. Blyth counted

The insurrection of 1831.

sixteen Estate works lighting up the sky with the fires which laid them in ruins. Throughout half the island there was a general rising of the slaves. At once the whole island was placed under martial law. The militia furnished sufficient local defence against any advance of the ill-armed and ill-organised bands of slaves; and General Sir Willoughby Cotton, promptly taking the field with regular troops, soon dispersed the miserable insurgents. Some fled to the mountains; the greater part went back to their estates and surrendered themselves; some hundreds were put to death by the executioner, and others flogged. The property destroyed by the slaves in this rising was estimated at £667,000; and the British Parliament granted a loan of £200,000 to enable the planters to replenish their estates. But on the estates where the Presbyterian missionaries had made their influence felt, no injury was wrought, and the church members attended faithfully to their work.

Reaction against the missionaries.

It was long, however, before this latter fact was realised. The alarmed and resentful planters roundly charged the missionaries with having fomented the outbreak. That they were not arrested at the very outset was due not less to the esteem in which they were held by several of the magistrates, than to their own, as a rule, judicious conduct. But the Rev. Mr. Watson was forced to do military duty, and Mr. Knibb was only saved from being summarily court-martialled by the interposition of influential friends. All of them had to suffer many things wrongfully. After the insurrection was suppressed, the disbanded militia, aided and countenanced by white people generally, vented their animosity by demolishing Baptist and Wesleyan chapels

in several of the parishes. Two attempts to burn Hampden Church were happily frustrated.

A Colonial Church Union was also formed, for the purpose of expelling all "sectarian" missionaries from the island. An attempt to bribe the Presbyterian missionaries into joining it, by proposing to establish Scotch kirks in every parish as a branch of the Island Church Establish-

The Colonial Church Union.

VIEW OF LUCEA FROM THE WEST.

ment, signally failed. Forthwith the "Unionists" (as they were called) began a series of persecutions and outrages, directed against missionaries and all who sympathised with them, which threw the free coloured population into angry opposition, and was fast fomenting a civil war. They closed the church at Port Maria; for weeks Mr. Watson of Lucea could not venture out of his house; the missionary at Greenisland was dragged

before the magistrates on false charges, and threatened with assault. At this crisis Earl Mulgrave arrived as Governor. He proclaimed the Union as an unlawful institution, and publicly cashiered all officers and magistrates who were members of it, thus effectually dissolving it. In the most marked manner he countenanced and encouraged the labours of the missionaries.

The missionaries vindicated.

On the other hand, an attempt was made among the friends of the slaves at home to inculpate the Presbyterian missionaries as being generally too favourable to the planters; but the secretary of the Scottish Missionary Society, Dr. William Brown, published a triumphant vindication of the attitude they had preserved.

It was, of course, now perfectly clear that no hope could be entertained of ameliorative measures from the colonial Legislature. The passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 gave Great Britain a new Parliament; and in 1833 the ministry of Earl Grey carried the Bill abolishing slavery. It provided that, from 1st August 1834, all children under six should be free, while the rest of the slaves should enter on a six-years' apprenticeship, during which they should work three-fourths of their time for their masters, and at the end of which they should be free. At the same time, a sum of twenty millions was voted to compensate the slave-owners for the loss of what had hitherto been legal property. On the appointed date the planters prophesied a pandemonium, which should foreshadow the coming ruin of the island. The missionaries, on the other hand, laboured hard to prepare the ignorant and excited multitudes for the approaching change. In reality the day was celebrated chiefly as a sacred jubilee; throughout the island there

The Act of Emancipation.

was hardly a disturbance. But the system of apprenticeship proved a failure. The difficulties created by a transition stage became increasingly burdensome, and the Jamaica Assembly was driven to terminate the apprenticeship two years earlier than had been at first intended. The jubilee which had celebrated the ending of slavery was eclipsed by the jubilee which inaugurated the universal enjoyment of freedom. Where there were churches, they were filled with grateful worshippers, who kneeled before God as at the stroke of midnight they entered into liberty. On the mountain-tops they welcomed with shouts of praise the rising of the sun that shone on a free people. Again in the forenoon they crowded the churches at services of thanksgiving. Thereafter many of them, with a fine courtesy, paid their respects to their former masters and overseers. The total number of slaves set free in Jamaica was 311,071; the compensation paid to their former owners was £5,853,975.

Emancipation Day, 1st August 1838.

CHAPTER V

FROM THE DATE OF EMANCIPATION TO THE FIRST SYNOD IN 1849

THE Act of Emancipation undoubtedly created a situation full of confusion, uncertainty, and peril. It fell to Sir Charles Metcalfe to lay the foundation of the new order of things, and his statue in the Square at Kingston commemorates the ability and integrity with which he filled the office of Governor. The dispensation of justice had to be reorganised; the rights of the Dissenting Churches legalised; the currency remodelled; and retrenchment effected in the administration of the now greatly impoverished island. For a time it seemed as if a national act of righteousness were to issue in the ruin of the island and the misery of the people. Between 1832 and 1848 no fewer than 653 sugar and 456 coffee plantations were abandoned, and their works broken up. A large proportion of the compensation money paid to the slave-owners had gone to those who held mortgages on their properties. The planters, in their resentment at emancipation, had prophesied the ruin of the estates from want of labourers, and many of them, in the words of the Royal Commission of 1884, "did their best to fulfil their own prophecy." The freed slaves were driven off the properties on which they

Effects of emancipation.

had resided, and their dwellings pulled down; wages were tampered with, and withheld on the slightest pretexts; leases of ground for cultivation were refused, except on tyrannical terms. On the other hand, the negroes generally expected that emancipation was itself to bring them an amelioration of their condition which could only be secured through patient industry and well-doing; and many of them were utterly regardless of the debt due by the labourer to the interests of an accepted employer. Where a better spirit prevailed on both sides, the advantages of emancipation were at once apparent.

The task before our mission.

It was a hard task which lay before our mission. The idea which originated the mission, that of giving the Gospel to the slaves, still continued, although the slaves were now free, to dominate its policy and shape its endeavours. For the emancipated people were still enslaved in ignorance and superstition; they were habituated to deceit and dishonesty, and given over to immorality, with hardly any sprinkling of family life among them. "We were a wild people," was the graphic testimony of a converted negro woman at Goshen. "Mr. Jameson found we wandering and stumbling amid crags and gullies in the woods, blind, and with no man to care for our souls." Taking them in the mass, they were simply a pagan people, whose contact with English civilisation had been of a kind which taught them nothing but its vices and its hypocrisies.

Free villages.

The social unsettlement aggravated the difficulties of the situation. The missionaries sought to grapple with these difficulties in different ways. Mr. Blyth founded the village of Goodwill, by which he kept the people near their church and place of

worship. But many of the best of the slaves, who had saved a little money, preferred to seek provision grounds of their own, which could be bought cheaply in the high mountains. Mr. Waddell bought a run of mountain land in the wild and picturesque highlands some eighteen miles from Cornwall, already partly occupied by free people of colour, and, dividing it amongst a number of his people, founded the station of Mount Horeb. A similar movement of his people led him to found the still remoter station of Lamb's River (now known as Mount Hermon), near the German colony of Seaford.

New settlements.

While in the north the extension of the mission was brought about by local migrations, in the south it was effected by aggressive movements. The Dunfermline Presbytery sent out in 1839 the Rev. William Scott, who began work at Hillside, laying the foundation of the present charge of Ebenezer. Mr. Aird, one of several catechists sent out at this time, was stationed at Mile Gully, and there gathered the original nucleus of the congregation of Mount Olivet. A new station was also opened at Victoria Town, which was described at the time as "the key to the parish of Vere, perhaps the darkest, most neglected, and wicked locality in Jamaica." In the east Mr. William Anderson gathered a congregation at Rosehill, where he was labouring as catechist and teacher, and also began work at Phillipsburg, now Cedar Valley. In the west there were also new extensions. The Presbytery of Stirling in 1840 sent out Mr. Hugh Goldie as catechist to aid the Rev. W. Niven. Mr. Goldie was stationed at Negril, and formed there in 1844 a little church of five converts.

Extension of Secession Church mission.

In 1843 the Scottish Missionary Society sent out the

Rev. Warrand Carlile, a minister of the Church of Scotland. Although he was at the time forty-six years of age, his offer of service, prompted by a vision of the Lord directing him to Jamaica—a field of which he had not been thinking—was of such a kind that the directors of the Society gladly accepted it; and his honoured name closes the list of missionaries sent out by that Society. On his arrival in Jamaica he accepted an invitation to Cascade, a beautiful location high among the mountain valleys inland from Lucea, where Mr. Watson had already done much preparatory work. Very soon after Mr. Carlile settled there, a good congregation was formed, and the station was called Brownsville, after Dr. William Brown, son of Dr. John Brown of Haddington, and for many years the Secretary of the Scottish Missionary Society.

Brownsville.

By a remarkable leading of Providence the mission was carried to Grand Cayman, a low and reef-girt island which lies 130 miles north-west of Jamaica, and is inhabited by the tall and well-built descendants of buccaneers of former days, with a certain commingling of negro blood and colour. In January of 1845 the ship in which Mr. Waddell had sailed for home was wrecked on that island, and he had perforce to stay there over two Sabbaths, on both of which he preached to the people. In the spring of the same year the ship in which Mr. W. Niven was going home called at the island on a Sabbath to take in turtle. On the heart of each the spectacle of this isolated population of 1500 souls, without a single missionary or teacher of any kind, and living in the practice of open and secret wickedness, made a profound impression. Mr. Niven obtained leave when at home to begin a mission there;

Grand Cayman.

and when, on his return to Jamaica, the question was put in the Presbytery, "Who will go?" the Rev. W. Elmslie, who had been first catechist and afterwards ordained missionary at Greenisland, rose and offered for the lonely outpost. The Rev. W. Niven accompanied him thither in 1846, and introduced him to his charge; but on the return voyage the schooner (*The Wave*) foundered in an awful hurricane. Mr. Niven and all on board were drowned; and shortly afterwards his young widow, prostrated by the sore bereavement, died in childbed.[1]

Beginning of the mission there.

Death of Mr. and Mrs. Niven.

But it was not only in occupying new ground that progress was manifested. Individual instances of transformed character and fervent piety gladdened the eyes of the labourers; the gradual working of the new leaven was also apparent, although too subtle and variable to be easily defined; at the several stations congregations were steadily growing. There were also some notable beginnings of future developments. Native catechists began to be employed, the first of whom, George M'Lachlan, who had formerly been a slave, deserves to be held in remembrance for his intelligent and earnest piety and active zeal. The training of native youths to be teachers and catechists was also inaugurated. The proprietor of Bonham Spring mansion-house, near Goshen, offered it rent-free to Mr. Jameson for this purpose, and Mr. George Millar was sent out in 1841 to begin the new seminary. Shortly afterwards, however, he removed it to Montego Bay as a more

Progress in other directions.

Native catechists.

Montego Bay Academy.

[1] Full details of this whole paragraph relating to Grand Cayman are given in the *Record* for February 1847.

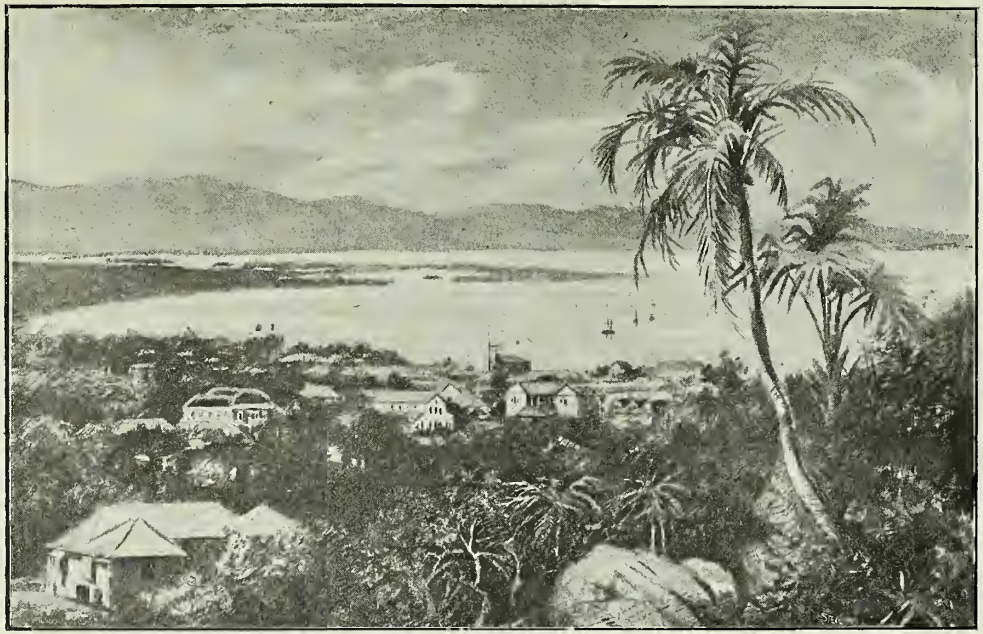
suitable centre, and there it proved a wellspring of enlightening influence. To have been trained in the Montego Bay Academy came to be regarded as almost in itself a certificate of superior qualifications and character.

But most notable of all was the earnest desire amongst the converted children of Africa that their kindred in the land of their birth should hear the glad tidings of salvation. And from the day the sun of freedom rose on Jamaica, the idea had been cherished by friends of Africa that Jamaica would furnish agents for its evangelisation. In 1839, Mr. Waddell organised in his congregation at Cornwall a missionary society, in which 230 members contributed in monthly gifts £66 the first year, and more in some later years. In other congregations a similar enthusiasm was evoked. For two years the project was before the Presbytery. In 1841 they passed resolutions in favour of it, but these resolutions met with a chilling reception at home. Despite this discouragement, the brethren in Jamaica, having meanwhile received inviting assurances directly from Old Calabar, resolved to proceed in the way of organising a new society to undertake this mission. Mr. Waddell accepted the commission to go home to found this society, with a view to thereafter becoming its first missionary. For this purpose he resigned his connection with the Scottish Missionary Society. After he arrived in Scotland, however, the Secession Church agreed to institute the mission, and appointed him to lead the way.

The desire to send the gospel to Africa.

Origin of the mission to Old Calabar.

But the progress manifested in Jamaica was shadowed by darker experiences. Incessant difficulties tried the faith and courage of the missionaries and hampered



VIEW OF MONTEGO BAY.

their labours; the soil in which they had to work was saturated with the evil influences of the past; while financial distress and social privations created cares that could not be avoided.

Darker experiences.

In 1842 an outbreak of Myalism swept through many parishes like a contagion. Myalism may be described as the African superstition of exorcism, which seeks the expulsion of evil spirits and the breaking of evil spells; while Obeahism (although the name is now often used generically as inclusive of Myalism), its malignant counterpart, seeks the infliction of evil through occult incantations, rites, and charms. Large gatherings of the negroes assembled at one place after another to drive out the Obeah with frenzied dances and singing, amid an excitement that often threw the principal performers into paroxysms; while the grossest delusions were inculcated as mystic truths, and deeds of darkness enhanced the demoralising influence of the orgies. These superstitious rites were sometimes grotesquely combined with the singing of Christian hymns and the use of Christian prayers. These outbreaks almost defied for the time the efforts of the missionaries who attempted to prevent or overcome them. They were not, however, a transient epidemic. They were rather the outcome of hereditary superstition, to which the abolition of slavery gave freedom of action, and which has beleaguered mission work down to the present day. From time to time this superstition has received a fresh quickening from the location in Jamaica of settlements of "Africans," *i.e.* captives rescued from slavers by British men-of-war, and planted down in selected spots.[1] These recent

Myalism.

[1] I visited a settlement near Brownsville of "Africans" from the Congo, the adults of which had not more than one or two words of English.

comers from Africa were regarded as specially skilled in Obeahism.

There were also many deaths among the missionaries. In 1841 fever of an unusual type prevailed, to which four of the mission staff succumbed, while others who recovered were obliged to take furlough home. A deep impression was made by the sudden removal of the Rev. James Paterson. On 23rd January 1843 he left his home in Cocoa Walk to attend a meeting of Presbytery. The Rev. Dr. Robson of Wellington Street Church, Glasgow, who was then on a visit to the island to recruit his health, and whose sister had been Mr. Paterson's first wife, accompanied him in the gig. Their conversation turned on the leadings of God's providence and on the hopes of His children. Dr. Robson quoted to him the words of Rowland Hill's favourite hymn—

Deaths.

Death of the Rev J. Paterson.

> "And when I'm to die, Receive me, I'll cry;
> For Jesus has loved me, I cannot tell why.
> But this I do find, we two are so joined,
> He'll not be in glory and leave me behind."

At Mr. Paterson's request he again repeated the hymn. Immediately afterwards they came to a descent; as they went down the hill the horse broke into a gallop, and Mr. Paterson lost control of it; at the foot of the hill, a watercourse crossing the road gave the gig a severe jolt, which threw them both out of their seats; Dr. Robson fell again into the gig, but Mr. Paterson, who had been holding the reins, fell on his head upon the road, and lay there motionless; the horse ran on for about half a mile before it could be checked, and when Dr. Robson descended from the gig and ran back to where Mr. Paterson was lying, he found his friend

dead. So quickly, as in a moment, was the first missionary of the Secession Church caught up out of his abundant labours to be with Christ.

The deaths of Mr. and Mrs. William Niven in 1846, already referred to, were followed by others. Between August 1848 and January 1849 no fewer than six deaths occurred in the mission staff, and the Mission Board took occasion to issue an address calling to special prayer and renewed effort in view of this great mortality. There were also several departures for the new field in Old Calabar. Mr. and Mrs. Edgerley and Mr. Edward Miller followed Mr. and Mrs. Waddell later in the same year; the Rev. William Jameson in the year following; Mr. and Mrs. Goldie, Mr. and Mrs. Newhall, Mr. Henry Hamilton, and others, a year later; and again, in the following year (1848), Mr. William Anderson. The depletions occasioned by these deaths and departures were not made up by the number of new missionaries who arrived.

Departures for Old Calabar.

Two congregations, however, were added, both in 1848. The congregation at Montego Bay, originally connected with the Church of Scotland, and which at the Disruption adhered to the Free Church, cast in its lot with the Jamaica Church. At Kingston there was a congregation which adhered to the Church of Scotland. Mr. T. F. Callender, a probationer of the Secession Church, who had come to the island to seek relief from pulmonary complaint, and who was a most acceptable preacher, was invited to become its pastor. As the stipend was paid by a Government grant, his principles prevented him from complying with the request; but a friendly arrangement was come to, by which Mr. Callender, after being ordained as a missionary by the Jamaica

Montego Bay and Kingston

Presbytery, gave a twelve-months' supply to the vacant congregation, until a new minister arrived from Scotland. The congregation was greatly benefited in every way by Mr. Callender's earnest labours, and the arrangement terminated amid mutual good-will. Mr. Callender then opened a new station in Kingston, which had at the time a population of 40,000, not a fourth of whom were connected with any place of worship. There were the fairest prospects of success, but the disease from which Mr. Callender suffered had made insidious progress, and he only lived to dispense the first communion to his infant congregation of 50 members.

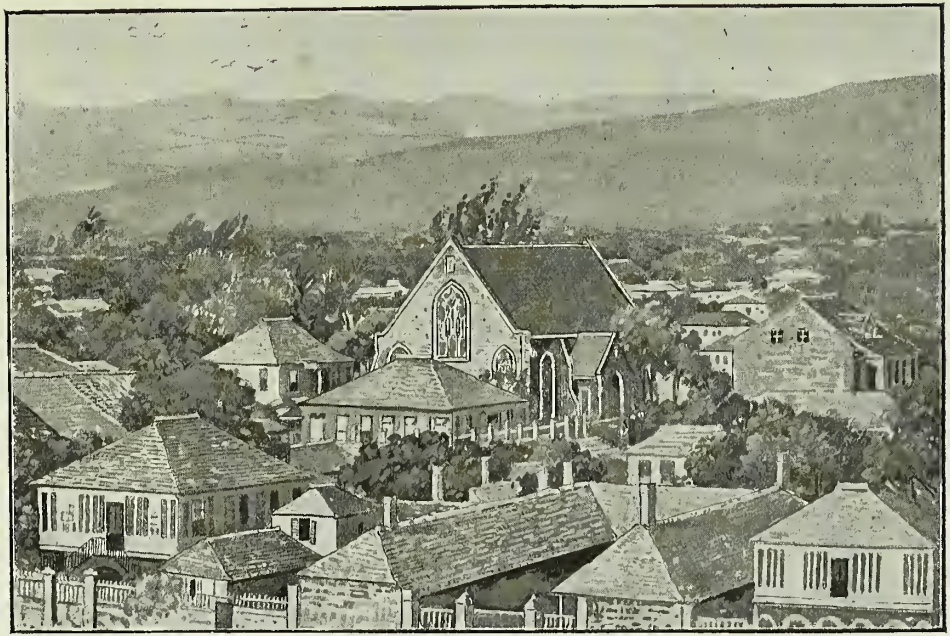
In 1847 the union of the Secession and Relief Churches constituted the United Presbyterian Church.

Uniting of the two missions.

One of the first results was the taking over of the missions of the Scottish Missionary Society by the United Church. This step was very welcome to all the missionaries in Jamaica. From the beginning they had co-operated as brethren; all the ordained agents of the Society were ministers of the Secession Church, with the exception of the Rev. Warrand Carlile, who belonged to the Free Church, and he too cordially accepted the new relationship. Following upon this union, the Presbytery resolved to extend the advantages of Presbyterianism by constituting itself into a Synod, with four Presbyteries. The

The first Synod.

first Synod met at Falmouth on 9th January 1849, and was opened with a sermon by the Rev. Dr. King of Greyfriars Church, Glasgow, who was then on a visit to the island. At that time there were under the charge of the Synod 17 ordained missionaries, 5 catechists having charge of congregations, 5 European catechists and teachers employed under missionaries, 4 female teachers and more than



VIEW IN KINGSTON, SHOWING ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH.

12 native teachers, upwards of 4000 communicants, and 2000 children receiving education in day schools connected with the mission.

It is interesting to note how the four Presbyteries rise like after-monuments of the pioneer enterprise which laid the foundations of the mission. Mr. Blyth began work in Hampden, and round that station circles the Northern Presbytery. Mr. Watson landed in faith at Lucea, and from Lucea radiates the Western Presbytery. Mr. Chamberlain moved eastwards to Port Maria, and inland from Port Maria branched out the Eastern Presbytery, which in 1891 was divided into two, the North-Eastern, and the South-Eastern having its seat in Kingston. Mr. Paterson planted the gospel at New Broughton, and from that root the Southern Presbytery has grown upwards like a palm.

The four Presbyteries.

CHAPTER VI

FROM 1849 TO 1866

THE lines of our mission work had now been definitely and deeply laid; what was needed was to carry the work steadfastly forward. And this was done, despite the restrictive and retarding influences of prolonged vacancies and frequent changes. Our mission had to pass through times of trial, but in the midst of them it received a signal baptism of blessing.

In 1850 an awful visitation of cholera fell like a scourge upon the island. Beginning in the unclean village of Port Royal, and devastating it, the disease spread through every parish, until it had almost literally decimated the population, one in thirteen throughout the whole island falling a victim to the malady. The preventive and remedial measures energetically employed by the missionaries saved many lives. Such a period of solemn anxiety and fear naturally awoke a widespread spiritual concern, which, despite its transitory character in multitudes of cases, produced a large number of converts. In this way the scourge was turned into a blessing.

Visitation of cholera.

From our mission staff, during the period now under review, the shadow of death was seldom absent. In one instance the stroke which bereaved the mission was made more vivid by its tragic surroundings. The Rev.

David Wingate, of Stirling, was returning to the island, with his newly-married wife, in the splendid new steamer *Amazon*, which was making her maiden voyage, with fifty passengers and a numerous crew. Two days after leaving Southampton, on 4th January 1852, the steamer was found to be on fire; all efforts to subdue the fire failed, and a scene of horror ensued; the flames swept the ship from stem to stern, and many perished in them. Of the boats which were attempted to be launched, only the lifeboat, with twenty-one persons, got safely away; in one which was swamped in the launching, and whose occupants were drowned, were the missionary and his bride.

Death of Mr. and Mrs. Wingate.

Resignations also thinned the ranks of the missionaries. The Rev. George Blyth, the pioneer of the mission, after twenty-seven years' labour in the island, resigned his charge, and returned in 1851 to Scotland, where he died in 1866. In 1854 the Rev. John Cowan, after twenty-two years' faithful labour at Carronhall, became incapacitated for further service, and retired to Scotland. And in 1857 that distinguished scholar, the Rev. Alexander Robb, after two years' labour at Goshen, left Jamaica for work in Old Calabar.

Resignations.

The vacant places, however, were filled by new arrivals, and four of the famous "Seven" of 1857[1] were located in Jamaica and Grand Cayman. The working of several of the stations was also facilitated by the ordination of cate-

Accessions to the staff.

[1] Considerable enthusiasm was awakened at home in 1857 by the appointment of seven new missionaries, who appeared together on public platforms at missionary meetings in Edinburgh and Glasgow.

chists who had gained for themselves a good degree.[1] Three of these were natives.

Training of a native ministry.

The propriety of training a native ministry had long been recognised, but not till 1851 was the first definite provision made for it, in the appointment of the Rev. Alexander Renton, formerly of Hull, a man of exceptional culture and beautiful character, as theological tutor at Montego Bay Academy, where the general work of the Academy and of the mission also engaged a share of his energies. But it was afterwards judged that the special training of the theological students might be carried on more economically and with equal advantage in connection with one of the stations, and in 1858 Mr. Renton removed with the students to Mount Olivet. In the previous year two native students and one American were licensed on completing their curriculum, the first-fruits of a regularly-trained native ministry; one of them was the Rev. James Robertson, who died last August at Mount Carmel.

Extensions.

About that time, also, two new stations were opened in the Western Presbytery; and the congregation of Falmouth, which had been in the same position as was formerly the Montego Bay congregation, joined itself to the mission under the Northern Presbytery.

The revival of 1860.

At this juncture there occurred a great religious awakening throughout the island. It began among the Moravian churches in Manchester, and extended rapidly among all denominations. The leading features of the revival were strong

[1] It may be noted here that some of our ablest and most successful missionaries, like William Anderson, Hugh Goldie, and James Ballantine, went out at first as catechists.

FALMOUTH MARKET.

convictions of sin accompanied with open confession, and followed by acts of repentance, such as restitution for past wrongs and reconciliation of existing quarrels. People were struck down, and remained for hours, or even days, in deepest distress on account of sin. The joy which came through trusting in the Saviour bore instant fruit in prayer and effort for the conversion of others. In many of the less evangelised parts of Jamaica the revival movement went to seed, leaving few permanent fruits, sometimes even doing harm. But wherever it was directed with judgment and the people were intelligently taught, it left behind results of great importance and abiding character. Thus the Rev. Warrand Carlile testified, a year after the revival, that the membership of his congregation had increased from 300 to 542, and the income from £140 to £250; while two years later he declared that the revival commenced a new era in the history of his congregation. Other missionaries bore similar testimonies; and the church returns for the year showed a total increase of 1500 communicants.

A time of trial.

But these glad experiences did not continue long. Sometimes a tree which in one year has yielded an exceptional wealth of fruit stands almost barren for a few seasons thereafter; so did it seem to be as regards the progress of the mission when once the fruits of the revival had been amalgamated into the ordinary life of the Church. Perhaps a truer view would be that God had graciously quickened and confirmed His people for passing through a period of disheartening adversity and trouble. For now there followed a period of great distress among the peasantry. A prolonged drought, the raising of prices through the American war, and increased import duties,

entailed serious hardships. Dr. Underhill, the Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, called the attention of the Home Government to the sufferings of the people, and the Government, by publishing the letter in Jamaica, made the matter a public question there. For some time previously there had been considerable political controversy, the Imperial Government being desirous of fostering the

Troubles brewing.

NATIVE WOMEN WASHING CLOTHES.

principle of representative constitutional government in the Assembly, while the majority of the Assembly desired to maintain the sole responsibility of the Governor. In more than one direction relations were strained. The labouring population were continually irritated by petty acts of oppression and injustice on the part of the planters, especially in the payment of wages. Petitions to the Governor only elicited the recom-

mendation to give their labour steadily and continually wherever it was wanted. In these circumstances the descendants of Africans throughout the island were called upon, by a resolution adopted at a public meeting in Kingston, to form themselves into societies to procure the redress of their grievances. In this agitation George William Gordon took a prominent part.

George W. Gordon.

Once a slave, and freed by his father, to whom he afterwards showed the most filial kindness, Mr. Gordon became one of the largest landed proprietors in the island, and a member of the Assembly and several local Boards. His talents, Christian character, and urbanity commanded wide respect. There can be no doubt that Gordon's words and actions did much to foment the animosity of the negroes against the whites; there can be as little doubt that in the agitation he himself contemplated only constitutional methods. But the ends proposed to the African population, and the appeals made to them, fomented in certain quarters a determination to resort to illegal violence.

The Morant Bay insurrection.

In St. Thomas-in-the-East, the parish in the island least under missionary influence, on 11th October 1865, a roughly-armed and imperfectly-organised mob entered the Square in Morant Bay to begin the war on the propertied classes. The forces of order on the spot were overpowered; the court-house attacked and fired; the Custos and others murdered: in all, eighteen were killed and thirty-one wounded by the insurgents. The conspiracy was purely local, but fears of its having wider ramifications exaggerated the danger, and volunteer companies were improvised in every parish. As a matter of fact, the rebellion was checked and hemmed in within three days, and crushed within a week. But the conduct of the authorities and of the

military was reprehensibly severe. Four hundred and fifty rebels were killed in quelling the rebellion; after order was restored, 350 more were put to death. A thousand native dwellings were wantonly destroyed by burning. The punishments inflicted were excessive and cruel; and a flagrant violation of law and order took place in the treatment of Mr. Gordon. He had been ill at his villa during these days, but, learning that a warrant had been issued against him, he rode in with a friend to the Government offices in Kingston. There he was at once arrested, and illegally conveyed away by sea into the proclaimed district, that he might be subjected to trial, not by ordinary law, but by court-martial. After being subjected to incredibly brutal indignities, he was summarily hanged. The indignation evoked by these proceedings obliged an investigation by a Royal Commission from England, and as the result, the Governor, Mr. Eyre, was recalled.

Vindictive action of the Government.

The insurrection was significant, and not less its results. The interests of the coloured population rose into prominence as a principal aim in the future government of the island. The contempt for negro life and the wanton use of force, which were a legacy of slavery, received a stern check in the Report of the Royal Commission. The Legislative Assembly, which for more than two hundred years had represented the colonists of Jamaica, wisely enacted its own abolition.[1] The survivals of slave-

Results of the rebellion.

[1] The panic awakened by the Morant Bay rising and the resentment against the native Baptists were so great, that the Governor actually introduced a measure into the Assembly, which would have had the effect of strangling the mission work of all Churches except the Episcopal, the Church of Scotland, and the Roman Catholic. It was too extravagant to be proceeded with.

holding days in the spirit and methods of administration were now doomed. A new era began, in which the good of the people as a whole and without distinction of race became the end of the Government.

What was the position of the mission at this period of time? In brief, it numbered 24 congregations, with 4738 members and 470 candidates; the contributions for all purposes amounting to £2558, being an average of 10s. 8d. per head.

CHAPTER VII

FROM 1866 TO 1893

IN October 1866 the new Governor, Sir John Peter Grant, inaugurated the new form of government, under which the Legislative Council consisted exclusively of the nominees of the Crown. Improvements were introduced in various directions, which tended to equalise privileges and to benefit all classes. In 1869 the Episcopal Church was disestablished, a proceeding which resulted in a reorganisation and quickening of the Church, to its own increase and prosperity, and to the marked advantage of religion in the island. The cause of education also received great attention. The same policy of gradually extending measures of public benefit and local improvement was carried forward by the subsequent Governors, Sir Anthony Musgrave, and Sir Henry W. Norman, who in 1884 introduced into the Council representative members chosen by the people. The present Governor, Sir H. A. Blake, promoted in 1890 an Exhibition, which did much to attract attention to the products and capabilities of Jamaica, and to enlighten the native population as to the cultivation of the resources within their reach.

The Government.

It is, of course, impossible to trace minutely the history of our mission throughout the island during

this long period. Every reader can easily understand how the work presents year after year the same general features of continuous and earnest labour, darkened perhaps by local hindrances and trials, or brightened by special evidences of the work of the Spirit, but on the whole always tending towards a better future. It must suffice here to outline the more prominent occurrences and developments.

Our mission.

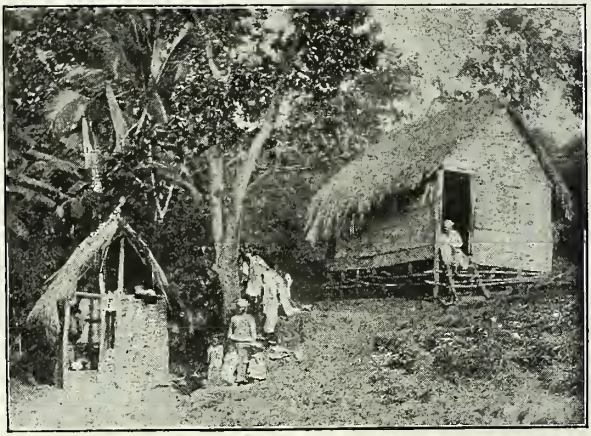
The depression which prevailed throughout the island at the beginning of this period was so great, that the missionaries recorded their thankfulness at seeing the Church even holding its ground, while its stability was recognised at home as gratifying and hopeful. But at home there was also dissatisfaction that the bright hopes awakened by the revival of 1860 had not found a more satisfactory fulfilment, in a larger measure of self-support and independence on the part of the Jamaican Church. It seemed to be still absorbing a larger proportion of the missionary income of the Church at home than might have been expected. As yet not a single congregation had become self-supporting.

Its stationariness.

Accordingly, the Rev. Dr. Hamilton MacGill, the Foreign Mission Secretary, and Mr. J. H. Young, Glasgow, an able, liberal, and generous-hearted member of the Board, went out as deputies to visit the mission in the winter of 1870–71. While inquiring minutely into all the affairs of the mission, they sought to make their visit one of encouragement and help, and brought home a report which showed that much of the dissatisfaction which had been expressed was occasioned by an imperfect understanding of the conditions of life among the people, and of the progress which had actually been

Deputation sent out.

achieved. At the same time they sought to develop in the Jamaican congregations a spirit of reliance on their own resources, and in general to stimulate action towards the goal of self-support. The visit of the deputies was followed by a very marked improvement in the contributions of the people, to which, however, the great improvement in the material condition of the island, beginning in 1870, no doubt largely co-operated.



VIEW OF NATIVE DWELLINGS

The mission to the Cubans.

Some ninety miles from Jamaica, and visible from its northern shore on a specially clear day, lies the island of Cuba, having eight times the area of Jamaica, but less than three times its population. The revolution of 1868 in Spain had been followed by several political risings in Cuba, and at the time Dr. MacGill and Mr. J. H. Young visited Jamaica there were a large number of Cuban refugees in Kingston. About the same time the Rev.

Ramon Montsalvatge, a well-accredited Spanish ex-priest, arrived from South America, and our church in Kingston was freely granted him for work amongst the Cubans. For a long time the idea of carrying the gospel to Cuba and other islands of the West Indies had been present to the minds of some of our missionaries, and now there seemed a hope of a beginning in such work at their own doors. Encouraged by Mr. J. H. Young, the Jamaica Church resolved to undertake the support of this work among the Cubans, and entered with enthusiasm and liberality upon the undertaking. At first there was good success. But after three or four years this foreign element in the population of Kingston dwindled away, and the mission came to a natural end. More recently the idea of a mission to Cuba has been revived in the Jamaica Church, and earnestly advocated, but has not yet taken practical shape.

Prior to the departure of the deputies for Jamaica, the resolution had been taken to close the Montego Bay Academy, and to this resolution the deputies gave effect. During the twenty-five years of its existence the Academy had rendered valuable service. Five hundred and sixty-three public scholars had reaped its benefits through the payment of fees; while 108 missionary students had been enrolled, of whom rather more than a half afterwards entered the service of the mission, chiefly as teachers, but four as pastors. In 1855, the Governor, Sir Henry Barkly, in a despatch to the Colonial Secretary, said: "By far the most creditable institution in the island is the Presbyterian Academy, principally intended for training young men to the ministry or the scholastic profession." It still held a foremost place, and was accomplishing excellent work; there were 24 mis-

Closing of Montego Bay Academy.

sionary students and 56 public scholars in attendance. But the expense to the Home Church, amounting to nearly £500 a year, appeared to call for some more economical scheme. Very much at the instigation of the deputies, the Governor founded a Queen's College in Spanish Town, with the view of imparting the higher education preparatory to a theological training; but this scheme proved ultimately a failure. Mr. G. B. Alexander, who had been in charge of the Academy, was inducted as missionary at Ebenezer in 1871, and it was arranged, as a temporary measure, that he should there have eight students under tutorial training, with a view to their becoming teachers, or entering on a theological course when a theological professor should be appointed. In several respects the change to Ebenezer was found beneficial to the students, and the arrangement was prolonged until Mr. Alexander returned home on furlough in 1876, when this work came to an end. The subsequent history of the mission has confirmed the opinion that the closing of the Montego Bay Academy by the Foreign Mission Board was a mistake. The saving effected was limited and only temporary; while the supply of well-trained and reliable teachers, as well as of native candidates for the ministry, received an unfortunate check.

Tutorial work at Ebenezer.

After the death of the Rev. Alexander Renton in 1863, the Rev. Adam Thomson, of Montego Bay, was appointed theological tutor, and carried on the work until the Academy was closed, when the two students under his care completed their curriculum, and there were no new entrants. At length, in 1876, the Rev. Dr. Alexander Robb, who had returned to Scotland from Old Calabar, was sent

Theological training.

out as theologieal professor, the hall being loeated in premises in Kingston, purehased and adapted for the purpose; and the Rev. John Simpson, who had now retired from the eharge of Port Maria, being assoeiated with Professor Robb in the work. The supply of students, however, did not prove equal to the hopes whieh prompted these arrangements, nor to the eost involved in them; and at length, in 1888, at a point when the hall beeame literally empty, Dr. Robb resigned his offiee, and went to join his family in Australia. Thereafter the training of students for the ministry has been entrusted to the Revs. G. B. Alexander, M.A., of Ebenezer, and R. Johnston, B.D., of New Broughton, the arrangement being that the students spend two years under each, Mr. Alexander eonducting the preparatory eourse, and Mr. Johnston the more purely theologieal and practical training. There are at present four students.

It has already been stated that the years following the visit of Dr. MaeGill and Mr. J. H. Young were years of material improvement in the island, and of progress in ehurch life. Shortly afterwards (in 1875–76), the Rev. Mr. Tayloe, from England, visited the island, and conducted evangelistic services in many distriets, with a eonseerated fervour and eeaseless energy which brought him to an early grave. Not a few of our stations reeeived marked quiekening through his labours, and his name is still a hallowed memory to very many whom he led to Christ.

Mr. Tayloe.

The brightening symptoms encouraged the hope of some more definite steps towards a larger measure of independenee; but just when this matter was being pressed on the attention of the Jamaiea Synod, a terrifie eyclone swept the

The cyclone of 1880.

island, levelling buildings, uprooting trees, and destroying five-sevenths of the whole produce in the field. Great sympathy was awakened for the sufferers by this disaster, especially for our congregations whose properties were wrecked or injured, and who were at the same time themselves too severely impoverished to make good their loss. In these circumstances the Mission Board resolved to send out another deputation, to examine the condition of every station as well as the position and prospects of the mission in general, and to advise the Jamaica Church and the Board as to the steps which appeared desirable. The Revs. Dr. James Brown of Paisley, and R. M. M'Innes of Ayr, undertook this onerous task, and discharged it with ability and judgment. Appropriate aid was given toward the restoration of mission properties, and various measures were instituted, with the view of facilitating in the Jamaica Church the development of self-government and self-support. In order that the arrangements regarding properties and the other measures agreed upon might be wrought out satisfactorily, the Rev. William Gillies, who had been formerly missionary at Goshen and Falmouth, and who was now Secretary to the Religious Tract and Book Society of Scotland, was appointed to the special office of Secretary to the mission, and proceeded to Jamaica in 1882. After five years' service in this capacity, when the special ends in view no longer required the continuance of the office, Mr. Gillies resigned his official connection with the mission, having been already appointed Co-Principal of the Mico College in Kingston.

Deputation in 1881.

The Rev. W. Gillies appointed Secretary.

Three important advances may be recognised as connected with the visit of the deputies. One was,

that the Jamaica Church undertook the whole responsibility for the support of its native catechists. The catechists occupy the out-stations, in which services are held on the Sabbath, the church members attending them being in some cases formed into a distinct congregation under the pastorate of the ordained missionary at the principal station, and in other cases being only an outlying part of the one congregation. It is very largely through the labours of the catechists that the directly aggressive work of the mission is methodically sustained. How well this has been done is indicated by what is said subsequently regarding the extension of the mission.

A step towards self-support—native catechists.

A second advance is to be noted in the Jamaica Church undertaking the whole charge of the schools connected with the mission. In the earlier days of the mission, adults as well as children had to be taught the elements of education; and in the Sabbath schools in country districts the classes of adults are still a conspicuous feature. Before any systematic effort was made by the Government to promote education, our Church rendered conspicuous service to the cause of education in the island through the teachers whom it trained in Montego Bay Academy. But, shortly after the outbreak of 1865, the Government organised a system of aid by a graduated scale of payments according to results in schools that are recognised as meeting the wants of a district. At first the educational agency in the island was very limited and very poor, but it has gradually risen to a comparatively satisfactory condition. The introduction of Government grants naturally rendered the schools receiving them unsuitable objects for missionary ex-

Self-support as regards schools.

penditure, and the Jamaica Church readily undertook entire responsibility for them. When this arrangement was made, there were 62 week-day schools, with 4800 scholars; now there are 92 schools, with 9781 scholars.

Foreign missions.

A third advance may be noticed in an increased interest in foreign missions. The remarkable manifestation of missionary enthusiasm which characterised the early days of the mission, was largely helped by the sentiments of home and kindred to which the proposal of the Old Calabar Mission so powerfully appealed. But, after the first satisfying of these sentiments, the requirements of the mission in Jamaica itself, together with its constantly recurring difficulties and trials, and the poverty of the people, laid restraints upon foreign missionary effort. Now, however, there was a quickening of missionary interest. Towards this end the teaching of Dr. Robb manifestly co-operated. Two of his students offered themselves to our Foreign Mission Board, and were accepted for service in Old Calabar. The one of these, the Rev. H. Gillies Clark, on his first furlough, returned to Jamaica and joined the Wesleyan Church;

The late Rev. E. W. Jarrett.

but the other, the Rev. E. W. Jarrett, proved a most capable, steadfast, and devoted missionary, until his lamented death at Ikotana in 1890. In 1884 the Jamaica Synod resolved to support missionary agents in Old Calabar and Rajputana.[1] Mr. Jarrett was their representative in the former field, but since his death the resolution has been implemented by the payment of an equivalent contribution towards the

[1] It may be noted that when the Church at home resolved, after the Indian Mutiny, to institute the mission to Rajputana, among the earliest subscriptions were sums from Jamaica amounting to upwards of £50.

carrying on of the work at Ikotana. In Rajputana the representative of the Jamaica Church is Miss Lucy H. Anderson, who was born in Jamaica, and was a member of the church in Kingston, and who went in 1881 to Rajputana, where she conducts so ably the Christian Girls' Boarding School at Nusseerabad. The missionary contributions show a somewhat fluctuating, but on the whole advancing, liberality. The annual missionary meetings of the congregations are the great events of the congregational year, the churches being usually decorated for the occasion, and filled by crowded gatherings. In some congregations remarkable liberality is manifested: the out-station congregation of Lauriston, numbering 93 members, has for two years in succession furnished a splendid example of missionary interest, in the fact that every member on the roll has contributed for missions.

Miss Lucy Anderson.

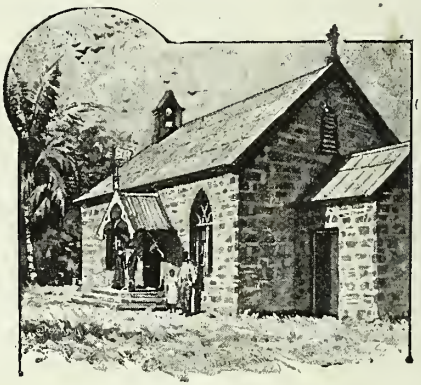
It will thus be seen that our contributions towards the Jamaica Mission are now confined entirely to the support of the ordained missionary agents, the training of theological students, and such grants as are found necessary to the erection of churches, chapels, and manses, or the opening of new stations.

Limitations of aid from Home Church.

A brief review of the extension of the mission during this period may appropriately bring this chapter to its conclusion. The last quarter of a century exhibits an addition of no fewer than 25 congregations. Four of these, indeed, were congregations which had been formed through the labours of the American Missionary Society. In 1866 that Society was induced, by the growing requirements of its work among the freedmen in the Southern States, to terminate all further expenditure on its comparatively

Extension of the mission.

small mission in Jamaica. The result was that the mission, thrown entirely on its own inadequate resources, soon drifted towards extinction, and between 1875 and 1882 the congregations of Eliot, Chesterfield, Brandonhill, and Brainerd one after another joined the Presbyterian Church. The congregation of St. John's arose out of the mission work carried on by the students under Dr. Robb in the poor and degraded Hannah Town district of Kingston. But besides these, 20 other congregations have been formed by the breaking of new



ELIOT CHURCH, OPENED IN 1893.

ground, and by the growth of the membership at outstations requiring them to be organised into separate congregations, although they might not obtain separate pastors. The aggressive character of the mission is attested by such a fact, while the enterprise and willingness of the people are indicated by the building, within the same period, of at least 19 new churches.

In conclusion, it may be noted that in 1889 the Jamaica Synod requested the Board to "send out an

evangelistic deputy to visit the congregations in the island with the view of stirring up their spiritual life." The Board, in compliance with this request, sent out the writer of this story, who visited all the congregations in the island. During part of the time he was accompanied by the Rev. Dr. William Boyd, Glasgow, who went out at his own charges. In the following year the Board cordially accepted an offer from Mr. John Wallace, Glasgow, to spend a year, prior to entering on the practice of law in Glasgow, in evangelistic work in Jamaica, a generous friend of the mission undertaking the whole charges. So far as it could be arranged, Mr. Wallace spent a week at each station in the mission, and in many places his labours were attended with blessing. At its meeting in 1892 the Jamaica Synod expressed "its thankfulness to God for the many evidences of conversion and large spiritual quickening received in connection with his labours."

CHAPTER VIII

THE JAMAICA OF TO-DAY: ITS NATURAL ASPECTS AND PRODUCTS

It still remains for us to take a brief survey of Jamaica as it presents itself to our view at the present moment; and also to estimate our present relation to our Jamaican Church in consideration of the position it has reached and of the task before it. The former of these aims I imagine I shall best accomplish, by making this chapter and the following very largely an account of impressions received during a visit to Jamaica in the winter of 1889–90, at the same time bringing the information on some points down to the present date.

What are the natural features of the island?[1] A line drawn along the centre of the island gives on an average its highest elevation, which is like an irregular citadel, supported by numerous buttresses and flanked by outlying ramparts. The Blue Mountains, towards the eastern end, are the highest, a majestic group, whose towering peaks gain an altitude of from 5000 to upwards of 7000 feet. At the western end of the island the most prominent summit is the densely forested Dolphin's Head, some 1800 feet in height. And almost in the very centre of the island, the free eminence of Bull's Head, nearly 3000 feet

Mountains.

[1] For geographical information, see p. 10.

high, and just above our Mount Carmel station, commands a splendid view, including within its extremes nearly two-thirds of the island. A land of clustered mountains and hills, Jamaica is also a land of ravines and watercourses. When Columbus was asked what like Jamaica was, he crushed up a sheet of paper, and, putting the crumpled sheet on the table, said it was like that.

Of extensive river basins it has only two, or at the most three, and these all on the southern side. Its only navigable stream is known as the Black River, which small boats ascend for some thirty miles; the basin of this river is the parish of St. Elizabeth. The parish of St. Catherine, again, may be described as the river basin of the beautiful Rio Cobre; and the adjoining parish of Clarendon bears a similar relation to the Rio Minho, save that the Rio Minho totally disappears from its stony bed, except in the upper reaches, during the greater part of the year. Elsewhere the rivers are either short, like those which debouch about Savannah-la-Mar, or confined within narrow gorges, like the impetuous and romantic Wag Water. The rivers of Jamaica have curious ways. Many a stream, starting hopefully from its mountain birthplace, no sooner touches a lower level than it loses itself in the porous limestone, which is the prevalent formation. Sometimes the disappearance is permanent;[1] sometimes it struggles soon into the light again. The Black River, for example, rises twice into the light under different

Rivers.

[1] In this connection reference may be made to the ugly-looking *sinks*, found here and there among the hills. They are deep hollows, like an inverted cone, with the bottom treacherous and absorbent like quicksand, down which the rain-floods instantly disappear—the antithesis to the volcano.

names, before gaining, on its third appearance, its permanent course. And many a river in the dry season seems unable to reach the sea. Creeping along its last stage in a ditch-like course, it finds a bar of dry sand laid right across its mouth, and behind this dam the torpid river lies content to soak and ooze away its superfluous water. Others, again, hide their beginning. For example, every traveller through St. Ann's turns

FALLS OF ROARING RIVER.

aside to look on the picturesque falls of the Roaring River, and this river issues from its hidden source full-volumed into light only a few hundred feet above the falls.

Climate.

As regards weather and climate, let me say that the period of my visit, from December to April, is always the most charming period of the year. I was never a near spectator of the grandeurs

of a tropical thunderstorm, although I had some little experience of the wholesale deluges mildly called "showers." The heat, though often great, was never severely trying; but I was told that if I should prolong my stay through the all-wetting rains and scorching days of the sultrier months, I would qualify my praises of the climate. As a matter of fact, the thermometer at Kingston ranges from a minimum of 59° in January to a maximum of 94° in July; the mean minimum for the year is 70°, the mean maximum 83°; and the mean for the year is at Kingston 81°, and at an altitude of 4000 feet 68°. To me, wandering through the island, it seemed as if, having lost the winter, the three remaining seasons had agreed to keep company together throughout the year, only stilling their gaiety a little during the months through which winter should have led the way. Hence, amid all the varied colouring of the landscape, you miss that lovely tender green which only winter yields to the first kiss of spring.

Order of the year.

There is, of course, a certain cycle in the year. I arrived in time for the gleanings of the luscious Manchester orange; during all my stay, the sugar-canes, ripening in one field after another, were being busily cut and crushed, but soon the busy hands would slacken; and when I left, the blossom was sparkling like a silver star in the coffee-planting, and millions of ripening mangoes were hanging by long threads from the bending boughs of the fruitful trees. Still, all through these months, besides the perpetual yield of yam and plantain, there was a continual dropping of other products not strictly in season, such as the useful bread-fruit and the delicious nase-berry. And throughout the year there is to be had that gift of heaven most grateful to the traveller, the

cool nutritious water of the young cocoa-nut, gathered and safely kept in its green chalice hung high up under the sheltering palm-leaves, earth's sweetest elixir for the refreshing of wearied nature. It is the constancy, rather than the change, of the year which strikes the stranger. The length of the day does not vary more than two hours throughout the year; the tides do not rise more than two feet; the day seems only to open and close on a "perpetual afternoon"; and to the dwellers in such a land the years must seem to glide away without any overt signal of their passage.

Animal life.

Very striking is the silence of nature. The birds most visible are the ugly vulturide "John Crows," carefully protected because of the invaluable public service they render as instinctive and voluntary scavengers. The tiny humming-birds, too, are often visible, hovering over flowers, but they are silent. Other birds have nearly disappeared. The mongoose, introduced in an evil moment to extirpate the destructive rat of the cane-fields,—whatever service it has rendered in that way, and in the extermination of snakes (which, however, in Jamaica were never poisonous),—has rendered a more than counterbalancing disservice by its wholesale destruction of birds, as well as of poultry, eggs, and other produce. The mongoose, indeed, has become a universal pest; and it is further credited with contributing to the prevalence of another pest. By preying, not only upon birds, but also upon lizards and other insect-devouring animals, it has removed every check to the multiplication of grass ticks. These are tiny red creatures, which, bred under a hanging spray or blade of grass, hang there like a cluster of pin-points, to scatter like dust over the first animal or wayfarer that brushes against them; and

thereafter grow into the small circular *bête rouge*. Should they fasten on an animal, they batten on its blood into "silver ticks," half-buried in its skin, and causing it endless torment. You may look wistfully at the alluring charms of the grassy lawn or romantic woodland, but the sure knowledge of the invisible tormentors lurking there will effectually forbid your straying from the beaten path. "Every paradise has its venomous beast." The mosquitoes come unbidden, sting, and are gone; but the grass ticks may so far be shunned, their bite is worse, and they stay till they are hunted down and killed. They are, as much as the mosquitoes, acknowledged in polite society! Only when the pungent odour of the pimento crop fills the atmosphere do the field workers seem to have exemption from this pest.

But if the day is songless and silent, the access of night is vocal. It comes suddenly, with hardly any perceptible twilight. And the moment the rays of the sun are lifted off the earth, all nature, as if escaping from oppression, breaks into sound; whirr and whistle, and chirp and buzz and croak, blending together to fill the atmosphere with a vibration like that of a spinning-mill. At the same time numberless "blinkers" begin to flash about the trees like drops of lightning, and large fireflies sail hither and thither with statelier splendour of various-tinted light, and dim forms of bats flap wildly through the darkness. The moon shines with a more silvery radiance than at home; the beautiful sheen of dew-covered palms sparkling in the moonlight of the early morn before the dawn, once seen, is never to be forgotten. And a new range of stars engages the eye. The beautiful Canopus, second in brightness only to

Night.

Sirius, has a gentler light; and the Southern Cross, belittled by many travellers, is yet, when seen upright against a dark sky, and despite the irregularity of one of its arms, a striking constellation.

Having travelled through twelve out of the fourteen parishes, and through some of them more than once, I could not fail to be impressed by the variety of climate and of scenery. The north-eastern slopes of the island, backed by the Blue Mountains and their dependencies, face the rain-bringing winds, and so have wet seasons throughout the year, the heaviest rainfall, and a humid climate. Along the southern shore, on the other hand, the climate is dry, and the hills of Santa Cruz furnish a matchless residence for those tainted with consumption. In riverless Manchester, when the tanks which store the rain-water gathered from the barbecues are exhausted, you may find the people wandering for miles in search of a pitcherful; and at the same time, in St. Mary's, the rain-floods may be scouring the hillsides and blocking the roads. Not less varied is the scenery. Hanover is a miniature Switzerland without its lakes; St. James's has many resemblances to the straths of Perthshire; St. Ann's, with its undulating hills and park-like "pens," fragrant with the universal pimento, is emphatically the most English in its aspect; St. Catherine's may boast the most famous and frequented bit of Jamaica scenery, the beautiful gorge of the Bog Walk, guarded at the top by the gigantic precipice known as Gibraltar Rock, but owing much of its fame to the rare charm of the broad stream which brightens the wooded pass with the life and music of its flowing waters. Every parish, indeed, has its views of sylvan loveliness or imposing splendour. Passing along the southern shore, I came

Variety of climate and scenery.

occasionally upon aspects of nature more exclusively tropical, such as a great morass, forested over with tall jungle of various growth, creepers and withes festooning across from one shrub to another, or hanging pendent from the branches; and here and there huge trunks rising from the morass above the rest, dead piles, clothed to the top with rank green, and looking in the dusk of evening like ivy-mantled ruins. Ascending among the mountains, I found myself, from many an inland height, looking away to the blue waters of the Caribbean Sea, veiled in distant haze, or glittering in the nearer sunlight with a white line of surf all along the reefs encircling the island. And everywhere, and almost always, the blue sky overhead, the dancing sunshine with its attendant wealth of deeper shadows, and the universal irrepressible luxuriance of nature, filling the foreground with splendid growths and crowding the landscape with varied hues of green,—all this gave to my wanderings through the island a great delight.

It is an island of immense fertility, and its resources are as yet very imperfectly developed. In the plains, sugar is still the principal industry. Hence, Westmoreland, Trelawney, and Clarendon are notably the sugar parishes. But the acreage under sugar is slowly dwindling. All through the island one lights upon deserted buildings of massive masonry, broken columns, and crumbling aqueducts, which tell how completely has passed away the era when fortunes were coined out of sugar and slavery. At present it is simply the difficulty of extracting any profit out of sugar culture, together with some difficulty as to the procuring of permanent labour, which is reducing year by year the number of "estates," and transforming them chiefly into "pens." But it is more

Variety of produce.

largely among the hills that the open pastures of the "pens," and their rich fields of Guinea grass, are found. The red soil of Manchester makes it pre-eminently the coffee-growing parish; and the clayey loam of St. Mary's seems to encourage the favourite banana and the cacao. In the immediate neighbourhood of Port Maria immense groves of cocoa palms clothe the hillsides with waving plumes. Universal over the island are fruits and edible produce of every kind. The sheltered nooks and steep

COLLECTING BANANAS FOR SHIPMENT.

declivities of the mountain uplands, clearings among the bush, and spots won from the hoary forests by felling and ruthlessly burning the giant trunks and undergrowth, all are appropriated to "petite culture" by the natives, ground provisions and bananas claiming the larger share of their holdings, while coffee, cacao, ginger, cassava, and other roots and fruits, are grown in more limited quantities. Dyewoods (logwood) show for the

moment the highest value among the exports from the island, but they only represent a draft upon the natural growth of previous years. Of the exports yielded from industrial cultivation, fruit is the most valuable, coffee next, and sugar is only third; the total value of native exports being well over a million and a half sterling.

Exports.

CHAPTER IX

THE JAMAICA OF TO-DAY: PEOPLE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

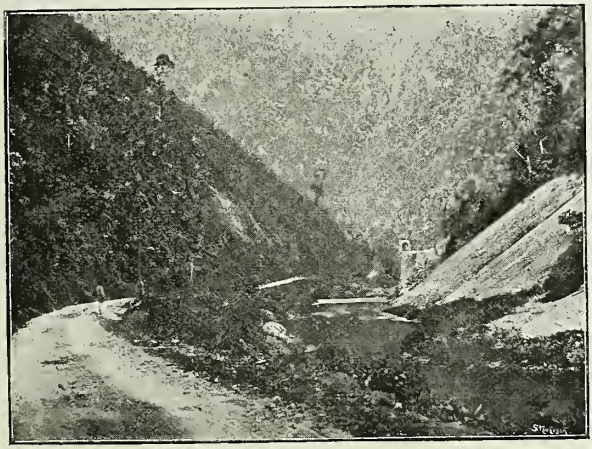
Jamaica has from an early period been divided into the three counties of Surrey (E.), Middlesex (Central), and Cornwall (W.). Of more importance is the division for administrative purposes into parishes. This division has varied at different times, so that one finds particular districts popularly described by names which are really names of parishes now abolished. At present there are fourteen parishes.

Parishes.

The means of intercommunication between the different parts of the island were, not fifty years ago, conspicuous by their absence. In 1849, Dr. King wrote, "The ends of the earth have more intercourse than the extremes of Jamaica." Recent years have witnessed a marked improvement in this respect. The railway, which is now in the hands of an American company, under agreement with the Government, branches at Spanish Town (twelve miles from Kingston) into two lines, the one of which is almost completed as far as Montego Bay, while the other runs more directly north through the Bog Walk, and is being extended in a north-easterly direction to Port Antonio. It is connected by mail coaches with the towns on the north coast as far as Lucca, and with those on the south as far as Savannah-la-Mar. From Kingston a

Intercommunication.

mail coach travels round the eastern end of the island to Port Antonio, and another across the island to Annotta Bay. Two coastal steamers make regularly the circuit of the island. Outside, however, of these few main lines of communication between the principal places, the means of travelling must still, as when Dr. King wrote, "be owned by the traveller, or borrowed from his friends, or hired" at burdensome charges.



VIEW OF BOG WALK, SHOWING ENTRANCE OF RAILWAY TUNNEL IN THE PERPENDICULAR CLIFF KNOWN AS GIBRALTAR ROCK.

Roads.

The leading thoroughfares through the island are maintained by the Government in good condition, subject to temporary damage from torrential rains or from "come-downs"—sudden and great spates—on the rivers; fords being the rule, and bridges the rare exception. The local roads are maintained by the several parishes. The driving roads vary

in goodness or badness much as private farm-roads at home, but a large proportion of the so-called roads are mere tracks, ranging at intervals through all conceivable alternations of discomfort, difficulty, and danger.[1] There is a steady, if somewhat slow, progress in the way of extending and improving the roads.

The postal and telegraph system is fairly complete.

Population.

The last Census showed the total population of the island to be 639,491. Of these, 14,692 were white; 121,955 coloured; and 488,624 black. There were also 10,116 coolies, and 481 Chinese.

The taint of slavery not overcome.

In estimating the progress of the people in Christian civilisation, it must not be forgotten that, while Christianity may speedily effect a complete transformation in an individual, the elevation of a community requires long and patient toil. Neither must we forget how short a time has elapsed since the blighting curse of slavery was removed. I have met with many men and women who were themselves slaves, with some who had entered into youth before they had heard even the name of Jesus, with one who received twenty lashes for daring, when a slave, to give in his name as a petitioner for church ordinances, and with an old woman who still bears the scars of the lashes she endured for resisting the advances of a

[1] In this connection it may be noted that so remote and isolated are the majority of our stations, that the keeping of from one to three horses, and in many cases of a buggy besides, is, notwithstanding the heavy drain thus made upon their slender incomes, an absolute necessity for nearly all our missionaries. Without them our missionaries would not only be cut off from the requisite intercourse with civilisation, but totally unable—so great are the distances and so exhausting the heat—to overtake their pastoral work, or visit their out-stations and schools.

licentious overseer. Moving about among the people, one feels that the days of slavery, though for ever gone, are not yet so distant. Their lingering shadows still darken the life of the people, and the vices they engendered, or at least intensified, are not to be worked out of the community within a single generation.

Prevalent defects.

Petty thieving is very common, and deceit and dishonesty are also frequent; sixty per cent. of the births are illegitimate, but this large percentage is to some extent accounted for by the prevalence of a concubinage, which is practically a state of marriage without a legal sanction. African superstitions, while seldom openly acknowledged, are far from extinct. Obeah charms are still to be seen here and there on the grounds of the natives; and the criminal records report convictions for the practice of Obeahism. Intemperance has not been a prevalent vice, but it is now beginning to threaten the welfare of the people in certain districts. In other respects the faults imputed to the people are such as are common to human nature everywhere, and are only more patent in them because they are themselves more natural, yielding more readily to the impulse of the moment, and unversed in the concealments of a more artificial state of society.

Better qualities.

But there are finer qualities to be noted. The children are equal in intelligence and power of mental acquisition to those of any other nation, but the intellectual progress of the people is hindered by the limited opportunities of higher education, the absence of sufficient stimulus to it, and the great want of a suitable popular literature. The people are, as a rule, industrious. The distances travelled, week after week, to the Saturday market to sell the week's yield of produce are almost incredible,

and indicate a readiness to undergo fatigue in the earning of a livelihood. The Report of the Royal Commission, published in 1884, speaks of the Jamaica negro as the finest tropical labourer in the world, and an admirable seaman. If fairly dealt with, they are as satisfactory servants as are to be found elsewhere.

GOING TO MARKET.

Employers of labour have pointed out to me headmen on whom they would rather rely than on any white man they could procure in the island. As a race, the children of Africa in Jamaica are placid, patient, and contented; imitative rather than inventive; given to display rather than intensive; capable of strong and deep personal attachments, and quickly responsive to

tokens of personal interest and goodwill. Of the capacity and high moral qualities to be developed in the race, many of our native catechists and members, as well as our native missionaries, are a conspicuous proof. If only family life throughout the island were placed on its proper basis in pure and well-ordered Christian homes, there would soon follow an upward movement into the foremost rank of Christian communities.

Already, however, the signs of the influences of Christianity are pleasing to contemplate. The Sabbath is well observed; the churches are thronged; the Sabbath schools are largely attended by both old and young; prayer-houses are often met with at convenient points in country places; there are not many districts entirely beyond the reach of Christian ministrations of some kind or other; and there are throughout the island nearly 800 schools, earning a Government grant, and presenting upwards of 50,000 children for Government inspection. Of course, the moral character and social condition of the people vary greatly in different parts of the island. But wherever an evangelical and earnest ministry has been enjoyed, the surrounding community bears the traces of it in superior intelligence and a more exemplary morality, usually also in a greater degree of material well-being. Some settlements, where the people own their lands, and have for a considerable time been ruled by Christian influence, give beautiful promise of what the whole island may yet become.

Hopeful signs.

Intimately connected with the social progress of the people are the prospects of the material development of the island. The tendency is always to cherish regarding these a more sanguine expectancy than is equalled by the event.

Prospects of material development.

The natural wealth of the island is so great, its fertility so generous, its tropical climate so fine, its scenery so magnificent, that one naturally anticipates for it a growing commerce, and increasing popularity as a health resort and attraction to travellers. But distance, the restrictions on communication and traffic, the heightened risks (from droughts, floods, and cyclones) and frequent failures of tropical cultivation, and the heavy taxation, are adverse to rapid progress in these days, when competition is world-wide and keen. American capital and enterprise have, however, been introduced in considerable measure into the island. There is also a growing export to the American market of fruit and other produce. The Government has fostered facilities for the sale by native cultivators of their modest harvests of bananas, coffee, cocoa, ginger, etc. This is rendering the export traffic easier and more regular; and this, again, is reacting on the people in the way of an encouragement to invest their labour and any little capital they can gather in the cultivation of the fertile soil. Wherever lands are offered for sale in lots suitable for cultivation, they are quickly taken up. In this way a peasant proprietorship is being developed, with improved dwellings and improved family life. So far as the material prospects of the people are concerned, this is perhaps the most promising feature of the outlook. It probably indicates the staple industry of the island in the future. The present shrinkage in the growth of sugar, and its attendant manufacture of rum, is likely to continue. The increase in the number of cattle-farms is only meeting the increased consumption within the island. Of course, a soil so rich and varied may yet be turned to more lucrative account in many other ways, which are

Peasant proprietorship.

now only being tried on a limited scale. New industries, too, may yet spring up. There is, for example, a growth of fibrous tissue every year throughout the island which is simply incalculable; and if cheap, effective, and easily-wrought machinery could be devised for utilising the fibre, the enormous annual waste of raw material would be converted into a means of profit. But it is obvious that the symptoms of any material advance are still too uncertain, too largely in the incipient stage, to warrant any very definite anticipations.

DILDO ARCH.

CHAPTER X

THE PRESENT POSITION AND PROSPECTS OF OUR JAMAICA MISSION

Our Jamaica Mission stands before us to-day as a solid and impressive monument of the power of the gospel to create out of sadly degraded materials, and amid circumstances of rare difficulty, a fair, strong, and growing Church of Christ. We cannot look on this large result of our first mission work—a Church of 54 congregations, with 10,692 communicants—without devout thanksgiving to God. And if we also take into view the services which our mission Church has rendered towards the advancement of Christian civilisation in Jamaica, our ground for thanksgiving is widened. Our Church is far from being alone, she is not even the foremost in the field. Three other denominations, the Episcopalian, the Baptist, and the Wesleyan, are doing larger work, and smaller bodies are also taking their share. But we may confidently claim for our Presbyterian Church that she excels the others in the average attainments and ability of her ordained ministry, in the quality of the religious instruction imparted to the people, and in the fidelity and efficiency of the pastoral oversight and training exercised by ministers and sessions; and has thus been carrying her people steadily into the forefront in respect

Grounds for thanksgiving.

of Christian intelligence and character. The influence of our missionary Church in the island has thus been of a leading character, and far more than proportionate to her size.

The field, indeed, is no longer heathen. Jamaica must be classed as a Christian island. But what was said by Dr. James Brown and Mr. M'Innes in 1882 is still true, that "it is a mistake to suppose that Jamaica is no longer a mission field." The superstitions of African heathenism are not extinct; more baleful still is the prevalence of the vices which have been engendered among the people by the grafting of slavery upon heathenism; while crudities and imperfections necessarily attach to the measure of Christian civilisation developed among the people at large. Wonderful as the product of only half a century, and vying in some respects with the product among ourselves of, let us say, three centuries of Christian teaching and training, the moral condition of the people is still tainted by the evils out of which it has grown, and is in its better elements still exposed to the insecurity of comparative novelty.

Present character of the field.

In view of these facts, the task before our Jamaican Church will be readily understood. Besides winning souls to Christ, she has to lift the thousands within her palē, and the community they leaven, up and forward into a purer and completer order of Christian life. This implies a progress on her part, leading ultimately to independence and self-support. Already her Church life is creating for itself new organisations of mutual help and common endeavour. There is an Augmentation Fund, yielding supplements to the native ministers of from £10 to £25; a Widows and Orphans' Fund has been

The task before the Jamaican Church.

initiated; and the Home Mission Fund supports the missionary catechists at the out-stations. A monthly denominational paper of great merit is every year increasing its circulation. Committees of Synod are watching the burning questions of Social Purity and Temperance, fostering Sabbath-school work and the promotion of Bible knowledge among the young, and taking counsel for advancing the life and work of the Church generally. A most hopeful feature of the Church's life is the vitality of missionary motives and sympathies. Besides the part she is bearing in our work in Old Calabar and Rajputana, her eyes have latterly been turning wistfully to Cuba as a clamant field actually within sight, but which she is hardly yet able to enter. The mission field in Jamaica itself requires the extension of the Church's energies. Aggressive work is being carried on at the various stations and out-stations, chiefly by open-air preaching, visitation, and private personal labour. And besides the practical heathenism lying immediately about these Christian centres, there are still some districts in the island which are barely touched by gospel agencies. Moreover, there are 14,000 East Indian coolies in the island, and amongst these the Jamaica Church has resolved to start a mission.

The ideal of foreign missions.

This picture of our Church in Jamaica may not appear quite in keeping with popular ideas of foreign missions. There is no longer the picturesque contrast between an isolated group of heroic pioneers and an opposing mass of heathenism, which naturally impresses the imagination of the Church at home; the work has advanced far beyond that primitive stage. But the very success of evangelistic labour introduces new elements into our foreign missionary duty.

We have been led by the progress of our foreign missionary enterprise into a more statesman-like—or rather, a more Christ-like—conception of it. In the first instance, it is a preaching of the gospel to individuals, but it is still further a "discipling of nations." The missionary Church formed amongst a people must be guided and aided until fully equal in her own experience and resources for an independent completion of the work belonging to her.

Our Church in Jamaica is looking forward to such independence, and endeavouring to prepare for it.

Independence to be prepared for.

Meanwhile, it is a distinct advantage to the cause of Christ in Jamaica that our Church there continues to be in dependent union with a Church life of wider horizon and riper experience. Its own Church life gains through this union possibly a firmer fibre, but certainly a richer tone, and a greater influence upon public opinion. To force our Jamaican Church into a position of independence by any mechanical arrangement would be a mischievous policy. It would mean the undoing of results that have been gained, and might require a reconstruction of the agency at work after an inferior pattern. The probability is that the calibre of the present ministry would not be maintained, and that the efficiency of the spiritual training of the people would be subordinated to the securing of ministerial support by an excessive grouping of the stations. The experience of other missions in Jamaica, where such a policy has been tried, warns us to avoid it. But the fact is, our Jamaica Church is not yet ready for independence. Our mission was inaugurated as a mission to the slaves, and has nobly followed its original inspiration by carrying forward its beneficial work

Independence at present impracticable.

mainly amongst their descendants. They are a poor people, and amongst a very large proportion the poverty is extreme. "The wealthy and middle classes are almost entirely unrepresented in the Jamaica Church. With only an occasional exception, the membership of the country congregations is composed of small settlers, whose settlements do not exceed six acres, and are in the vast majority of cases from half an acre to three acres; and of day labourers, whose wage does not exceed 5s. per week, but who have also small provision grounds, which contribute to the support of their families. Even the four or five town congregations furnish very few exceptions."[1] While their liberality is relatively greater than that of the Church at home, their resources are nearly exhausted by the endeavour to support their ministers. What is left over is not adequate for the maintenance of property (an important item in a tropical climate) or the erection of buildings for evangelistic extension. It is as yet only "the day of small things" with the various funds and schemes which are the proper equipment of an independent Church. The progress of the mission has been greatly retarded by prolonged vacancies, and by an inadequate staff. Out-stations ought to have been developed into separate charges. New openings presenting themselves in new settlements ought to have been promptly taken advantage of. Unhappily, both the means and the men have been lacking for that vigorous policy of development and extension which is the true way to prosperity and early self-support.

In these circumstances our duty is clear. The Church which God has honoured us to raise up in

[1] These sentences from the Report by the Rev. Dr. James Brown and R. W. M'Innes in 1882 are substantially accurate to-day.

Jamaica is manifesting a growing efficiency. That does not mean for us a release from helping, but an obligation to furnish gratefully and hopefully all the help that may be needed. It is no doubt upon other, far larger, and unquestionably more clamant fields that the enlarging missionary energies of our Church must be concentrated in growing measure in the future. But let it not be at the expense of failing to carry our work in our oldest mission field to a rich completion. The debt we owe the people of Jamaica is not yet paid. We stole them from their homes; we perpetrated against them the crime of enslavement; we vitiated them by long years of brutish bondage. For the Act of Emancipation we paid their so-called owners a compensation of six millions; but for the long years of wrong done to themselves, the atonement of love will not be fulfilled until they are lifted into the full and free enjoyment of the brotherhood of life in Christ.

Our duty.

What may be the ultimate design of God in entrusting this section of the offspring of Africa into our Christian care we cannot yet discern. He "moves in a mysterious way His wonders to perform." But surely from a vine so strangely brought across the sea, and planted amid blood and tears, and being now so hopefully trained, it is the purpose of God to fill, it may be for Africa, it may be for adjacent islands—may it not be for us also?—a cup of peculiar blessing. And to Him shall be all the glory!

The Divine purpose.

PART II

THE STORY OF OUR TRINIDAD MISSION

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY HISTORY OF TRINIDAD

When Columbus was on his third voyage to the New World, he encountered severe perils, and, according to the superstitious piety of the age, he vowed that, should God deliver him from his dangers, he would give the name of the sacred Trinity to the first land he should meet with. About mid-day, on 31st July 1498, "a mariner at the mast-head," says Washington Irving, "beheld the summits of three mountains rising above the horizon, and gave the joyful cry of land. As the ships drew nearer, it was seen that these mountains were united at the base. The appearance of these three mountains united into one struck him as a singular coincidence, and, with a solemn feeling of devotion, he gave the island the name of La Trinidad."

Discovery and name.

Trinidad is the most southern of all the West Indian islands, lying in latitude 11° N., and so near to the continent of South America that at one point it is only separated from the mainland by a distance of twenty miles. A little to the east of the

Situation.

island, the huge Orinoco pours into the Gulf of Paria by numerous mouths a flood of such volume as to cover the ocean for many miles with fresh water. Various lesser rivers empty themselves into the same gulf, and at certain seasons the currents cause a fierce turmoil in the channels on either side of Trinidad. So alarming and sinister did this turmoil appear to Columbus, that to the passage on the east he gave the significant name of "The Mouth of the Serpent," and to the passage on the west that of "The Mouth of the Dragon." This was the first occasion on which Columbus saw the American continent. At first he imagined that the land to the south was an island, like all the other lands he had as yet encountered, but on reflecting upon the volume of the rivers emptying into the Gulf of Paria, he surmised, as he afterwards found, that it was a continent.

About 50 miles in length and 35 in breadth, Trinidad presents roughly the appearance of a quadrilateral, with an area equal to about an eighteenth of Scotland. Two ridges of mountains run nearly across the country, along the northern and southern sides, the higher ridge on the north rising to upwards of 3000 feet, while the centre of the island is diversified with hills and valleys. The island is luxuriantly wooded, enriched by fountains and running streams, and favoured with a soft and pure climate. An extraordinary natural phenomenon is a pitch lake, situated on a small promontory, about 80 feet above the sea level, and about a mile and a half in circumference.

Extent.

Natural features.

Trinidad was taken possession of by the Spanish in 1588. Seven years later, Sir Walter Raleigh made a descent upon it, and a hundred years afterwards it was invaded and plundered by the French. But it remained

under Spanish sway till its capture by Sir Ralph Abercromby in 1797, the English possession being afterwards confirmed in the Treaty of Amiens in 1801. To this lengthened Spanish domination is to be traced the prevalence of Romanism in the island.

Became an English possession.

The original inhabitants were described by Columbus as well formed, with long hair, and even fairer than those more remote from the equator. But under the cruelty of Spanish rule they rapidly became extinct, and negroes were imported as slaves from Africa to supply the needed labour. The history of the emancipation of the slaves has been already told in the former part of this book. What has been said regarding Jamaica applies generally to Trinidad, but with this qualification, that the planters in Trinidad were more willing to acquiesce in the decision of the Imperial Parliament, and in general showed a more commendable endeavour to adjust matters to the new order inaugurated by emancipation. It was in the midst of the apprenticeship period that our mission began.

Inhabitants.

CHAPTER II

ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE MISSION

In 1835 the Secession Synod sent out its first missionaries, the Revs. James Paterson and William Niven, to Jamaica. No soooner had they sailed, than Broughton Place congregation, Edinburgh, adopted the former as their representative in the foreign field. Then Greyfriars Church in Glasgow resolved to undertake in like manner the support of a foreign missionary. It seemed to them desirable to extend the communication of the gospel to some other island of the West Indies besides Jamaica; and their attention having been drawn to Trinidad by two gentlemen from the colony who were at home at the time, and details furnished showing the spiritual destitution of the island, they selected it as their field of labour. Mr. Alexander Kennedy, who had just obtained licence, was favourably known to many in the congregation; from his childhood it had been his desire to go as a missionary to the heathen, and he was unanimously and cordially adopted by the congregation as its foreign missionary. The Synod accepted the proposals of the Greyfriars congregation, and thus the name of Alexander Kennedy stands third upon the roll of missionaries sent out by the Secession Synod. He landed at Trinidad on 25th January 1836.

Resolution of Greyfriars Church, Glasgow.

Appointment of Mr. Alex. Kennedy.

At that time the population of the island was nearly 45,000, of whom a fourth part resided in the capital, Port of Spain. One-half of the inhabitants were free, enjoying equal privileges without reference to colour; the remainder were blacks in the stage of apprenticeship intermediate between slavery and emancipation. Of the free inhabitants a considerable majority were of French or Spanish extraction, speaking corrupt dialects of these languages, and retaining in a great degree the manners and customs of the nations from which they sprang. Not more than a third of the whole free inhabitants could be reckoned as British by descent, language, or manners. Of the apprentices perhaps a half spoke a corrupt French, a fourth Spanish, and a fourth English, these having been mostly brought from other British colonies after the British acquired the island. The French-speaking negroes were, however, rapidly acquiring the use of English.

Condition of the population.

The predominating religion was Roman Catholic, the Bishop and ten curates being maintained out of the public funds of the colony; while an Episcopal chapel and a Methodist meeting-house, both in Port of Spain, were the only Protestant places of worship in the island. There was not a single school on the island where the children of the apprentices could procure even the slightest elements of education, and only in one or two places was there even a fractional provision for the lower class of the free population. The majority of the apprentices were in pagan darkness. "The black and coloured population," wrote Mr. Kennedy, "are notoriously ignorant and unblushingly immoral. The whole mechanism of society is opposed to vital godliness."

Religion and education.

After earnest consideration of the comparative de-

stitution of the various districts of the island, Mr. Kennedy began work in the Port of Spain. Hiring an old theatre, he fitted it up as a place of worship, capable of holding about 500 persons; gathered and organised a congregation; and administered the Lord's Supper to the infant church for the first time on the first Sabbath of June 1837. By and by, however, a new place of worship was erected, to which the colonists, recognising the good Mr. Kennedy was doing, contributed £500, the rest of the cost being defrayed from Glasgow. Mr. Kennedy's earnest labours embraced open-air and district preaching at stations outside of the town, as well as in the church, both on Sabbaths and on week-days. He also began a week-day school, which soon had over 100 scholars, and to which Mr. James Robertson was sent out as teacher.

Beginning of mission work.

In 1840 the Presbytery of Selkirk ordained the Rev. George Brodie as missionary to Trinidad, and agreed to provide for his maintenance. After supplying the station at Port of Spain during Mr. Kennedy's absence on furlough, Mr. Brodie began work at Arouca, about twelve miles straight east of the capital. The inhabitants of the district were nominally Romanists, and ignorance and immorality prevailed among them in an almost inconceivable degree. An offer by the Government of a grant of land for the erection of a place of worship was declined by Mr. Brodie, who, in fidelity to his principles, insisted upon paying for the ground. Although his action at first excited surprise, the explanation of it produced an excellent impression upon the Governor and others, and had the effect of eliciting willing subscriptions from them for the erection of the church. The work of the mission was arduous; it was literally a case of

Mr. Brodie begins the Arouca station.

"digging out" the people. To get at them, Mr. Brodie had to arrange no fewer than six stations within three miles of the chapel, three of which were visited every Lord's day, while the whole number who listened regularly to the preaching of the gospel was only about 500.

At this time Messrs. Kennedy and Brodie drew attention to the desirability of beginning mission work at San Fernando and Carenage; and the result was that Mr. James Robertson, the teacher at Port of Spain, after attending one session of the Theological Hall when at home on furlough, and being licensed by the Presbytery of Glasgow, was in 1845 ordained by the Presbytery of Trinidad to work in San Fernando, about twenty miles south of Port of Spain. No place of worship, however, could be procured there, and the prospect was so hopeless that he removed to Carenage, where a foundation had been laid in a way most unusual at that time. Mr. John Thomson, a native of Glasgow, had been located as a teacher there by the West Indian Mico charity, and had proved himself an earnest evangelist, meeting with the negroes in a hut for worship, and devoting himself to their weal. A reduction of the Mico funds having obliged the cancelling of his appointment, Mr. Thomson bought the beautiful estate of Covigne, and prospered as a planter. But his love for the negroes and evangelistic fervour were unabated. Building a small chapel in 1843, he taught the people there, with great sympathy, earnestness, and success, until his death in the end of 1844. The Rev. Mr. Robertson went to Carenage to take up and develop the work thus begun, but, after a few months of very hopeful labour, he

Mr. Robertson ordained.

Abortive attempt at San Fernando.

Opening at Carenage.

died on 3rd February 1847, greatly lamented by the community. No successor was appointed, and the name of Carenage soon disappeared from our mission records.

Mr. Robertson's death.

A very interesting episode brightened the early history of our mission. Dr. Kalley, a Scotch medical man residing in Madeira, and a true Christian, was moved to address himself earnestly to promote the physical and religious wellbeing of the native population in that island. At first his efforts were welcomed, and the municipal authorities at Funchal passed a vote of thanks to him for his disinterested benevolence; but when it was found that the distribution of Bibles and religious teaching were awakening a new faith among the people, the priests stirred up a fierce and relentless persecution. For simply reading the Bible, several were condemned to two and three years' imprisonment. Dr. Kalley himself was imprisoned for five months; and some time after his release a mob wreeked his house, he himself escaping in disguise on board a British steamer. Several of the converts had their houses fired at night; excommunication and a social ban were proclaimed against them all. One woman, for refusing in public court to confess faith in the dogma of transubstantiation, was sentenced to be executed, and languished for three years in prison. At length the greater number of them resolved to leave Madeira for the West Indies; and the most of the exiles, fully 600 in number, came to Trinidad in the latter part of 1845.

The Madeira refugees.

Mr. Kennedy's church was freely placed at their disposal; elders from among themselves conducted their ordinary services; and Messrs. Kennedy and Brodie administered the sacraments to them. The Rev. Mr. Hewitson, of the Free Church,

Their reception in Trinidad.

Dirleton, who had been in Madeira, and had carried on the work there quietly during Dr. Kalley's imprisonment, visited Trinidad, and spent the winter labouring among the refugees. One of them, Aseenio da Silva, was evidently marked out as their spiritual leader, and, after giving full proof of his qualifications in that direction, was ordained as their minister by the Presbytery of Trinidad in the beginning of 1848. Before the end of the year, however, his health completely gave way; removal to a colder climate was ordered; but a change to New York was followed very quickly by his death there. It was obvious by this time that Trinidad could not afford a permanent home to the refugees. The means of obtaining a livelihood were so limited and so unsuitable, that the most of them were enduring great hardships. Accordingly, arrangements were made, through the American Protestant Society, for their removal to Illinois to be engaged in the cultivation of hemp, and they emigrated from Trinidad in 1849. Their conduct during their stay had been most exemplary, commending their faith; and our missionaries parted from them with great regret. The temporary shelter and aid given to these exiles of faith will ever be remembered as a great privilege accorded to our mission. A few, however, remained in the island, and were taken under the care of the Colonial Committee of the Free Church. But what was originally a Portuguese congregation has now become very similar to the others in the town.

Their departure from Trinidad.

CHAPTER III

THE SUBSEQUENT HISTORY AND PRESENT STATE OF THE MISSION

THE subsequent history of our Trinidad Mission is chiefly an uneventful record of quiet and faithful toil.

Quiet work.

The field did not appeal to the Church at home like the other fields, with vaster needs and possibilities, into which it was being called to enter. No sustained effort was ever made to extend the work in Trinidad beyond the stations already named.

In 1849, Mr. Kennedy resigned his connection with the mission, on account of the state of his health, and withdrew to Canada. Mr. Brodie took his place at Port of Spain, and carried on the work of both stations, until the Rev. George Lambert arrived in 1854 to take charge of Arouca.

Personal changes.

The trinity of stations, which had been broken by the abandonment of Carenage, was restored in 1862, by the transference to our mission of a small congregation which had been formed at San Fernando under the supervision of the Colonial Committee of the Free Church, and of which Mr. Lambert now became the minister. The station at Arouca was filled by the appointment of the Rev. W. F. Dickson, a native of Jamaica, and licentiate of the Jamaica Church. His ordination in Jamaica attracted special attention as the

San Fernando added.

first instance of a native missionary being sent out from our Church there to another West Indian island; but the hope of a sueeession of instanees has not been fulfilled. If Mr. Kennedy laid the foundation of our Trinidad Mission, its three stations owe their stability and influenee very largely to the labours of Messrs. Brodie, Lambert, and Dickson, of whom Mr. Dickson alone survives.

At one time an attempt was made to extend our mission into the coolie population, of whom there were 30,000 in the island. Already our Canadian brethren were working amongst them, and they invited our eo-operation. We had a suitable agent on the spot in the Rev. John Hendrie, who had acquired a knowledge of Hindustani as one of our missionaries in Rajputuna, and who had, on account of his health, been transferred to San Fernando. Accordingly, he removed in 1883 to San Josef, the old Spanish eapital of the island, pleasantly situated inland in a north-easterly direction from Port of Spain, near the foot of high mountains. No Protestant had been there before, and in the surrounding district there were 4000 coolies. Among these Mr. Hendrie prosecuted mission work for four years, with tokens of success and very hopeful prospeets; but when he returned home on furlough in 1887, medical opinion was adverse to his return to Trinidad, and for want of a qualified missionary our work among the coolies had to be abandoned. But our congregations in Trinidad cordially support the Canadian Mission.

Mission to the coolies.

The membership of our three congregations, as returned in the statistics for 1892, is 398, with a total attendance at the Sabbath schools of 505. They raised for all purposes the sum of £1135, 5s. 9d., while the total outlays on the mission by

Present state of the mission.

the Home Church amounted to £208, 14s. 5d. The congregation at Port of Spain has been self-supporting since 1861, and has recently, under the energetic ministry of the Rev. E. A. M'Curdy, from Canada, begun to extend its help to the cause at Arouca. The congregation at San Fernando, were the present vacancy filled, might soon attain a similar position. Both these congregations might be described as "colonial churches, with a considerable admixture of Creole population." The congrega-

GREYFRIARS CHURCH, PORT OF SPAIN.

tion of Arouca is more largely composed of natives. In intelligence and morality these congregations are on the whole superior to the average congregation in Jamaica.

If our mission has been limited in area, it has been strong in character, and borne an influential part in promoting the cause of Christ. Deserving of mention is the circumstance that, when in 1871 concurrent endowment was formally established in Trinidad, and the Episcopalians and

Public service rendered by it.

Wesleyans allied themselves with the Romanists in accepting its doubtful advantages, our congregations, along with the Canadian brethren and the Baptists, publicly protested against such an immoral system, and have maintained a firm testimony in favour of a more scriptural relation between the Church and the State.

The population of Trinidad is 190,000. The island enjoys the advantages of considerable material prosperity and commercial enterprise, and is intimately allied with Scotland in respect both of the capital and the energy by which its enterprise is maintained. In view of the needs both of the colonists and of the natives, and face to face with a dominant Romanism, our mission has still a work to do that is well deserving of the moderate aid received from the Church at home. If it is doing nothing directly to leaven with the gospel the great mass of heathenism imported into the island, still it is to Presbyterians that the honour of caring for the coolies falls. The Canada Presbyterian Church has been conducting mission work among them with energy and success; and more recently has founded a college at San Fernando for the training of East Indians as ministers, evangelists, and teachers among the 50,000 of their Hindi-speaking countrymen in Trinidad, and also amongst those of the other West Indian islands.

The field of labour.

It is obvious that the further progress and development of our little mission in Trinidad is to be sought in the way of as complete a union as may be found practicable with the other Presbyterian Churches there. For some time the four congregations of the Canada Presbyterian Church and the one congregation of the Free Church of Scotland have, together with our own, been under the supervision of a united

The outlook.

Presbytery, which does not, however, intervene in the financial and other matters pertaining to the administration of the several Churches. So happy is the co-operation at present, that in the eyes of the public there is only one Presbyterian Church. May we not hope that, as a contingent of that Church, our mission there may prove the means of yet more mightily advancing the kingdom of Christ among colonists, Creoles, and coolies, and so hastening the true consecration of the island to the Holy Trinity?

COTTON TREE.

APPENDIX

I

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE JAMAICA MISSION

1494.	May	3.	Landing of Columbus in Jamaica.
1517.			First importation of slaves from Africa to Jamaica.
1655.	May	3.	Jamaica taken possession of by the British.
1796.			Formation of Scottish Missionary Society.
1800.			Arrival of Rev. Joseph Bethune (a minister of the Church of Scotland), and Messrs. Clark and Reid, first agents of Scottish Missionary Society.
,,			Death of Messrs. Bethune and Clark.
1808.			Abolition of slave importation.
1824.			Settlement of Rev. George Blyth at Hampden.
1827.			Settlement of Rev. James Watson at Lucea.
1828.			Settlement of Rev. John Chamberlain at Port Maria.
,,			Formation of congregation and opening of church at Hampden.
1829.			Settlement of Rev. Hope M. Waddell at Cornwall (Mount Zion).
1830.			Formation of congregation at Port Maria.
1831.			Settlement of Rev. John Simpson at Greenisland.
1832.			Opening of church at Port Maria.
,,			Settlement of Rev. John Cowan at Carronhall.
,,	Oct.	28.	Death of Rev. John Chamberlain at Port Maria.
1833.	Jan.	17.	Formation of congregation and first observance of Lord's Supper at Cornwall.
,,	April	14.	Beginning of Presbyterian services at Montego Bay by Rev. George Blyth.
,,			Formation of congregation at Greenisland.
,,			Transference of Rev. John Simpson to Port Maria.

1834. Formation of congregation at Carronhall.
,, Friday, Aug. 1. Partial abolition of slavery (apprenticeship). Abolition of Sunday market.
,, Sept. 10. United Secession Synod resolves to send two missionaries to Jamaica.
,, Nov. 23. Death of Mrs. Simpson at Port Maria.
1835. Settlement of Rev. James Paterson (formerly of Auchtergaven) at Montego Bay, and of Rev. William Niven at Morgan's Bridge (Stirling), agents of United Secession Church.
,, Settlement, and death, of Rev. Thomas Leslie at Greenisland.
,, Opening of station at Mile End (Goshen) by Rev. John Simpson.
,, Opening of station at Navarre (Bellevue) by Rev. George Blyth.
,, Removal of Rev. James Paterson from Montego Bay to new station at Cocoa Walk (New Bronghton).
1836. Feb. 10. Formation of Jamaica Mission Presbytery at Montego Bay.
,, March. Settlement of Rev. P. Anderson at Navarre.
,, Formation of congregation at Bellevue (Navarre)
,, Opening of station at Flowerhill (Friendship).
,, Settlement of Mr. James Drummond, catechist teacher, at Hampden.
1837. Formation of congregation at Cocoa Walk.
,, Settlement of Rev. William Jameson at Goshen.
,, Opening of station at Rosehill.
,, Settlement of Rev. James Niven at Crosspaths (Friendship).
,, Sept. 5. Death of Mrs. Watson at Lucea.
1838. Settlement of Mr. John Aird, catechist, at Rowe's Corner (Alligator Pond).
,, Settlement of Davidson Black, catechist, at Golden Grove.
,, Formation of congregation at Flowerhill.
,, Settlement of William Kay, catechist, at Mount Zion; of James Elmslie, catechist, at Greenisland; and of David Moir, catechist, at Goshen.
,, July 1. Opening of church at Mount Zion.
,, Aug. 1. Termination of apprenticeship system and complete emancipation of the slaves.
1839. Settlement of Rev. Wm. Scott at Hillside (Ebenezer).
,, Transference of Mr. William Kay to Mount Horeb.

1839.			Opening of station at Mile Gully (Mount Olivet) under Mr. John Aird, catechist.
,,	July	12.	Death of Mrs. Jameson at Goshen.
,,			Formation of congregation at Goshen; of congregation at Hillside (Ebenezer); and of congregation at Crosspaths.
,,			Settlement of Messrs. William Anderson at Rosehill, John Scott at Mount Zion, David P. Buchanan at Port Maria, Hugh Goldie at Stirling, Peter Leys at Goodwill, Robert Gregory at Brownsville, and Duncan Forbes at Lucea, catechists.
,,			Opening of station at Negril.
,,			Resignation of Mr. David Moir.
1840.			Opening of station at Lamb's River (Mount Hermon).
1841.			Settlement of Rev. James Denniston at Montego Bay (Established Church of Scotland).
,,			Settlement of George M'Lachlan, native catechist, at Golden Grove.
,,			Opening of station at Philippsburg (Cedar Valley).
,,			Formation of congregation at Cascade (Brownsville).
,,			Death of Mr. William Kay at Mount Horeb.
,,	Aug.	14.	Death of Rev. William Scott at Hillside.
,,	Sept.		Jamaica Mission Presbytery resolves to begin mission work in Central Africa.
,,	Dec.	3.	Death of Mrs. Simpson at Port Maria.
,,			Opening of school at Victoria Town.
,,			Formation of congregation at Eliot (American Missionary Society).
,,			Mr. George Millar sent out to conduct Academy at Bonham Spring (Goshen).
1842.	Feb.	17.	Ordination of Mr. John Aird at Mile Gully.
,,	March	3.	Death of Mr. D. P. Buchanan at Port Maria.
,,	May.		Formation of congregation at Rosehill.
,,			Opening of church at New Broughton (Cocoa Walk).
,,			Opening of station at Negril.
,,	Oct.	11.	Death of Mrs. William Niven at Stirling.
,,			Formation of congregation at Chesterfield (American Missionary Society).
1842–43.			Visit of Rev. John Robson, D.D., Wellington Street Church, Glasgow, to Jamaica.
1843.	Jan.	23.	Death, by accident, of Rev. James Paterson (New Broughton).
,,			Settlement of Rev. Warrand Carlile at Brownsville.

1843.		Transference of Mr. Robert Gregory to Lamb's River, and of Mr. Samuel Edgerley from Mount Zion to Mount Horeb (catechists).
,,		Settlement of Mr. James Dickson at Mount Zion, and of Mr. George Wilson at Goodwill (catechists).
,,	April.	Ordination of Mr. James Elmslie (catechist) at Greenisland.
,,		Congregations at Montego Bay and Falmouth (Established Church of Scotland) adhere to Free Church.
,,		New church at Goshen opened by Rev. Dr. Robson, Glasgow.
1844.		Opening of Montego Bay Academy by Mr. George Millar.
,,	Aug.	Opening of churches at Mount Olivet and Hillside.
,,		Formation of congregation, and settlement of Mr. Hugh Goldie, catechist, at Negril.
,,		Transference of Mr. Robert Gregory to Port Maria.
,,		Mr. J. J. Wood begins work as independent teacher at Bodden Town, Grand Cayman.
,,	Dec. 20.	Jamaica Mission Presbytery appoints Rev. H. M. Waddell to initiate Old Calabar Mission.
1845.		Settlement of Rev. A. G. Hogg at New Broughton, and of Rev. Andrew Main at Hillside and Mount Pleasant.
,,		Departure of Rev. H. M. Waddell, Mr. and Mrs. Edgerley, Edward Miller, and others, to begin mission work in Old Calabar.
1846.		Settlement of Rev. William Paxton Young at Mount Zion (Cornwall), and Messrs. Caldwell at Mount Horeb, Clark at Negril, and Strang at Hillside (catechists).
,,		Departure of Rev. William Jameson to join Old Calabar Mission.
,,	Sept.	Settlement of Rev. James Elmslie (Greenisland) in Grand Cayman: recognition of Mr. J. J. Wood as teacher in connection with United Secession Church.
,,	Oct.	Rev. William Niven (Stirling) drowned when returning to Jamaica from Grand Cayman.
,,	Nov. 29.	Death of Mrs. William Niven at Stirling.
,,		Ordination of Mr. Hugh Goldie (Negril).
1847.		Settlement of Rev. John Campbell at Goshen.
,,	March.	Departure of Rev. H. and Mrs. Goldie, Mr. and Mrs. H. B. Newhall, Henry Hamilton, and others, to join Old Calabar Mission.

1847.	May	13.	Formation of United Presbyterian Church by Union of Secession and Relief Churches: resolution to negotiate for adoption of mission stations of Scottish Missionary Society in Jamaica.
,,			Transference of Mr. Robert Gregory, catechist, to new station at Victoria Town, and of Mr. James Dickson to Lamb's River.
,,	Sept.	1.	Ordination of Mr. T. P. Callendar at Montego Bay: begins services in Established Church, Kingston.
,,	Dec.		Settlement of Rev. John Scott at Greenisland, and of Rev. David Winton at Stirling.
1848.			Presbyterian congregation at Montego Bay joins United Presbyterian Mission Church.
,,			Departure of Rev. William Anderson to Old Calabar.
,,	July	15.	Ordination of Mr. James Caldwell at Mount Horeb.
,,	Aug.	7.	Death of Rev. W. P. Young at Mount Zion.
,,	Aug.	22.	Death of Mrs. Winton (Stirling).
,,	Sept.	3.	Rev. T. P. Callendar begins services in connection with United Presbyterian Mission at Kingston.
,,	Sept.	27.	Death of Rev. James Caldwell at Mount Horeb.
,,	Sept.		Transference of Rev. J. Scott to Montego Bay.
,,			Formation of congregations at Kingston and Victoria Town.
,,	Nov.	15.	Death of Mrs. Scott.
,,	Dec.	4.	Death of Rev. J. Scott at Montego Bay.
1849.	Jan.	9.	First meeting of Jamaica Presbyterian Synod at Falmouth.
,,	Jan.	22.	Death of Rev. T. P. Callendar at Kingston.
,,			Ordination of Mr. Matthew Strang at Mount Horeb.
,,			Induction of Rev. John Aird (Mile Gully) at Greenisland.
,,	March	29.	Death of Mr. James Drummond, catechist, at Hampden.
,,			Settlement of Rev. Walter Turnbull at Mount Zion.
,,	Dec.		Induction of Rev. James Watson (Lucca) at Kingston.
1849-50.			Temporary supply of Rosehill by Rev. Mr. Muir (formerly of Largo).
1850.			Station at Crawl Pen (The Ferry), under George Rose (native catechist), adopted as mission station of Presbyterian Church.
			Settlement of Mr. H. B. Newhall (formerly of Old Calabar) at Mount Horeb.
			Resignation of Rev. George Blyth.

1850.			Opening of church at Ebenezer for combined congregations of Hillside and Mount Pleasant.
,,	March	16.	Death of Rev. Walter Turnbull at Mount Zion
,,	June.		Settlement of Rev. Adam Thomson at Montego Bay.
,,			Formation of congregation at Bodden Town, Grand Cayman.
,,	Aug.	2.	Death of Mrs. Winton at Stirling.
,,			Settlement of Mr. John Welch, catechist, at Carronhall.
,,	Dec.		Arrival of Rev. William Lawrence at Hampden.
,,	Dec.	19.	Death of Mrs. Adam Thomson at Montego Bay.
,,			Opening of church and formation of congregation at The Ferry.
1850–51.			Severe visitation of cholera in Jamaica.
1851.	Jan.		Settlement of Rev. Alexander Renton as theological tutor at Montego Bay Academy.
,,	Nov.		Settlement of Rev. W. S. Heddle (formerly of Brechin) at Rosehill and Cedar Valley (Philippsburg).
,,	Dec.		Settlement of Rev. William Lawrence at Mount Zion.
1852.			Induction of Rev. P. Anderson (Bellevue) at Hampden.
,,			Transference of Mr. George Stricker, catechist, from Mount Zion to Bellevue.
,,	Jan.	4.	Death of Rev. David Winton and wife, through burning of S.S. *Amazon* on the voyage to Jamaica.
,,	Feb.	22.	Opening of St. Andrew's Kirk, Kingston.
,,			Resignation of Mr. Robert Gregory (Victoria Town).
,,			Transference of Mr. Joseph Hanna (New Broughton), catechist, to Victoria Town.
,,			Settlement of Mr. F. H. Dillon, catechist, at Lamb's River.
1853.			Induction of Rev. John Campbell (Goshen) at Lucea.
,,	March.		Settlement of Rev. Alexander Robb, M.A., at Goshen, and of Rev. H. H. Garnet (native African) at Stirling.
,,	June.		Opening of church at Mount Horeb.
,,			Resignation of Rev. P. Anderson (Hampden).
1854.			Resignation of Rev. J. Cowan (Carronhall) and Rev. W. S. Heddle (Rosehill).
,,	April.		Ordination of Mr. Matthew Strang, catechist, at Mount Olivet.
1855.			Settlement of Rev. James Martin at Carronhall.
,,			Opening of station at Riverside.
,,	Nov.	16.	Death of Mrs. Robb at Goshen.
1856.			Resignation of Rev. H. H. Garnet (Stirling).

1857.			Settlement of Rev. Thomas Boyd at Rosehill and Cedar Valley, of Rev. Daniel M'Lean at Hampden, of Rev. William Gillies at Goshen, and of Rev. William Whitecross at Bodden Town and East End, Grand Cayman.
,,			Departure of Rev. Alexander Robb, M.A., to Old Calabar.
,,			Ordination of Mr. Duncan Forbes, catechist, and settlement at Stirling.
,,	Nov.	10.	Death of Rev. Matthew Strang (Mount Olivet) at Bothwell, Scotland.
,,			Licensing of Messrs. George Stricker, James Robertson (natives), and H. B. Newhall (American), students from Montego Bay Academy.
,,	Dec.	27.	Ordination of Mr. H. B. Newhall at Mount Horeb.
1858.			Induction of Rev. John Aird (Greenisland) at Bellevue.
,,	May	20.	Ordination of George Stricker at Greenisland.
,,			Opening of station at Little London.
,,			Induction of Rev. Alexander Renton (theological tutor at Montego Bay) at Mount Olivet.
1859.			Abandonment of station at The Ferry.
,,			Free Church congregation at Falmouth joins Jamaica Presbyterian Church.
,,			Resignation of Mr. F. H. Dillon (Mount Hermon).
1860.			Induction of Rev. William Gillies (Goshen) at Falmouth.
,,			Transference of Mr. John Welch, catechist, to Goshen.
,,	May	23.	Death of Mrs. Forbes at Stirling.
,,	July	9.	Death of Mrs. Gillies at Falmouth.
,,			Settlement of Mr. M. G. Mitchell, catechist, at Cedar Valley, and of Mr. Andrew Willis at Mount Hermon.
1860–61.			Great revival of religion throughout Jamaica.
1861.			Resignation of Rev. George Stricker (Greenisland).
,,	July	3.	Ordination of Mr. John Welch at Goshen.
,,			Formation of congregation at Riverside.
,,			Ordination of Mr. Andrew Willis at Mount Hermon.
1862.	Jan.	2.	Ordination of Mr. James Robertson at Greenisland.
,,			Opening of station at Pondside.
,,			Opening of church at Roschill.
,,	July.		Ordination at Negril of Mr. William F. Dickson as missionary to Aronica, Trinidad.
,,	Sept.	23.	Ordination of Mr. Maurice G. Mitchell at Cedar Valley.
1863.	June	17.	Ordination of Mr. Joseph Hanna, catechist, at Victoria Town.

1863.			Departure of Rev. James Elmslie from Grand Cayman.
,,	Oct.	25.	Death of Rev. Alexander Renton (Mount Olivet) at Kelso, Scotland.
,,			Settlement of Mr. F. Swaby, catechist, at Mount Olivet.
1864.			Induction of Rev. H. B. Newhall (Mount Horeb) at Grand Cayman.
,,			Resignation of Rev. Andrew Willis (Mount Hermon).
,,	July	19.	Death of Rev. James Elmslie (Grand Cayman) at Aberdeen, Scotland.
,,	Nov.	25.	Death of Rev. William Whitecross (Bodden Town, Grand Cayman) at Ayr, Scotland.
,,			Settlement of Mr. James Ballantine, catechist, at Hampden.
1865.			Resignation of Mr. George Miller (Montego Bay Academy).
,,			Settlement of Rev. G. B. Alexander, M.A., as teacher at Montego Bay Academy.
,,			Deposition of Rev. D. Forbes, Stirling.
,,	April	16.	Death of Mrs. Aird at Bellevue.
,,	July.		Ordination of Mr. Frederick Swaby, catechist, at Mount Olivet.
,,			Rev. H. B. Newhall returns to Jamaica from Grand Cayman.
,,	Oct.		Morant Bay Rebellion.
,,	Dec.	7.	Death of Rev. Andrew Main at Ebenezer.
1866.			Opening of church at Victoria Town.
,,	April	26.	Ordination of Mr. James Ballantine (Hampden) at Stirling.
,,	July	4.	Death of Rev. George Blyth (formerly of Hampden) at Glasgow.
,,			Resignation of Rev. John Simpson (Port Maria).
,,	Nov.	1.	Death of Rev. H. B. Newhall at Port Maria.
,,	Dec.	12.	Ordination of Mr. Richard Drummond at Negril.
1867.			Settlement of Rev. Thomas Downie (formerly of Nova Scotia) at Hampden.
,,			Resignation of Rev. William Gillies (Falmouth).
,,			Settlement of Rev. Andrew Baillie (formerly of Ollaberry, Shetland) at Ebenezer.
,,			Settlement of Mr. Thomas J. White, catechist, at Mount Horeb and Mount Hermon.
1868.	Jan.	5.	Death of Rev. Peter Anderson (formerly of Hampden) at Dunedin, New Zealand.
,,			Resignation of Rev. James Watson (Kingston).

1868.		Settlement of Rev. William Murray (formerly of Nova Scotia) at Kingston.
,,		Resignation of Rev. Thomas Boyd, on accepting call to Bishop Auckland, England.
,,	Sept. 9.	Ordination of Mr. Thomas J. White, catechist, at Mount Horeb and Mount Hermon.
1869.		Settlement of Rev. John Smith at Grand Cayman.
,,	June 15.	Death of Mrs. Hogg, New Broughton.
,,	Nov. 17.	Death of Rev. William Lawrence at Mount Zion.
1870.		Settlement of Mr. Edwin A. Wallbridge, catechist, at Rosehill.
,,	Dec. 5.	Death of Rev. J. Welch at Goshen.
,,	Dec. 12.	Death of Mrs. Welch at Goshen.
1870-71.		Visit of Rev. Dr. H. M. MacGill and J. H. Young, Esq., to Jamaica Mission.
1871.		Induction of Rev. J. Aird (Bellevue) at Goshen, of Rev. William Murray (Kingston) at Falmouth and Bellevue, of Rev. James Ballantine (Stirling) at Kingston.
,.		Settlement of Mr. Robert Gordon, catechist, at Bellevue ; and of Mr. Henry Scott at Rosehill.
,,		Ordination of Mr. E. A. Wallbridge at Mount Zion.
,,		Resignation of Rev. J. Campbell (Lucea).
,,		Induction of Rev. Andrew Baillie (Ebenezer) at Lucea ; and of Rev. G. B. Alexander, M.A., (Montego Bay Academy) at Ebenezer.
,,		Resignation of Rev. James Robertson (Greenisland).
,,		Rev. Richard Drummond takes charge of Greenisland.
,,		Resignation of Rev. T. J. White at Mount Horeb and Mount Hermon.
,,		Settlement of Mr. John M'Donald, catechist, at Riverside.
1872..	March.	Settlement of Rev. Samuel R. Hanna at Stirling.
,,	Nov. 23.	Death of Rev. Samuel R. Hanna at Stirling.
,,	Nov. 25.	Death of Mrs. Baillie at Lucea.
,,		Formation of congregations at Somerton and Reid's Friendship (Golden Grove).
1873.	May.	Death of Rev. James Watson (formerly of Kingston) at Edinburgh.
,,	Aug. 5.	Ordination of Mr. Robert Gordon (Bellevue) at Mount Horeb and Mount Hermon.
,,		Formation of congregations at Coleyville (Bryce) and at Albany (Salem).

1874.		Resignation of Rev. Andrew Baillie, of Lucea (afterwards at Mount Olivet).
,,		Rev. John Campbell resumes work, *pro tem.*, at Lucea.
,,	Aug. 4.	Ordination of Mr. Henry Scott (Rosehill) at Port Maria.
1875.		Formation of congregation at Seafield.
,,		Settlement of Rev. Archibald M'Kinnon at Rosehill.
,,		Formation of congregation at Mount Carmel (formerly station of American Missionary Society).
,,		Visit of Mr. Tayloe, evangelist, to Jamaica.
1876.		Resignation of Rev. James Ballantine (Kingston) and Rev. Archibald M'Kinnon (Rosehill).
,,	July 17.	Death of Rev. E. A. Wallbridge at Mount Zion.
,,	July 22.	Death of Rev. James Niven at Friendship.
,,		Formation of congregation at Hampstead.
,,		Congregation at Eliot connected with Presbyterian Church.
,,		Rev. Alexander Robb, D.D. (formerly of Old Calabar), appointed theological tutor at Kingston.
1876-77.		Visit of Rev. William Anderson (Old Calabar) to Jamaica.
1877.		Resignation of Rev. John Campbell, and settlement of Rev. John Stoddart at Lucea.
,,		Induction of Rev. F. Swaby (Mount Olivet) at Stirling.
,,		Induction of Rev. Andrew Baillie (formerly of Lucea) at Mount Olivet.
,,		Settlement of Rev. James Bayne at Mount Zion, of Rev. Leonard Miller at Friendship, and of Rev. James Robertson (formerly of Greenisland) at Mount Carmel.
,,		Settlement of Mr. H. B. Wolcott, catechist, at Rosehill.
,,		Opening of churches at Reid's Friendship and Somerton.
,,		Resignation of Rev. F. Swaby (Stirling).
,,		Formation of congregation at Lauriston.
1878.	Jan. 25.	Death of Mrs. Adam Thomson at Montego Bay.
,,		Resignation of Rev. James Martin (Carronhall).
,,		Settlement of Rev. James Cochrane (formerly of Maryport) at Kingston, and of Rev. Quince R. Noble (formerly of Kaffraria) at Carronhall.
,,		Ordination of Mr. H. B. Wolcott at Rosehill.
,,		Opening of church at Hampstead.

1878.			Formation of congregation at Chapelton.
,,	Oct.	7.	Death of Rev. Daniel M'Lean (formerly of Hampden) at Lanark.
,,	Nov.	11.	Death of Rev. John Cowan (formerly of Carronhall) at Stow.
1879.	Feb.	18.	Ordination of Mr. George M'Neill, as colleague, at Brownsville.
,,	June	15.	Death of Rev. Joseph Hanna at Victoria Town.
,,	Sept.	3.	Ordination of Mr. John M. M'Donald at Riverside.
,,			Opening of station at Ewing's Caymanas.
1879–80.			Rev. John Hendrie (formerly of Rajpntana) takes charge, *pro tem.*, of Falmouth.
1880.	Jan.		Opening of church at Coleyville (Bryce).
,,	Aug.	18.	Great cyclone.
,,			Formation of congregation at Ewing's Caymanas.
1881.	Jan.	14.	Ordination of Mr. H. Hope Hamilton at Victoria Town.
,,	April	6.	Ordination of Mr. Ernest B. Heighington at Chapelton.
,,			Resignation of Rev. Thomas Downie (Hampden).
,,	Aug.	25.	Death of Rev. Warrand Carlile at Brownsville.
,,			Rev. James Martin (formerly of Carronhall) takes charge, *pro tem.*, of Hampden.
,,	Dec.	13.	Ordination at Kingston of Mr. Hopetoun Gillies Clerk as missionary to Old Calabar.
,,			Formation of congregation at Camberwell.
,,			Congregations at Chesterfield and Brandonhill connected with Presbyterian Church.
1881–82.			Visit of Revs. Jas. Brown, D.D., and R. M. M'Innes, to Jamaica Mission.
1882.			Resignation of Rev. A. G. Hogg (New Broughton) and Rev. John Aird (Goshen).
,,	Feb.	10.	Death of Rev. John Campbell (formerly of Lucea) at Edinburgh.
,,	July.		Ordination at Kingston of Mr. Ezekiel W. Jarrett as missionary to Old Calabar.
,,			Deposition of Rev. James Bayne (Mount Zion).
,,			Appointment of Rev. William Gillies (of Scottish Religions Tract and Book Society, formerly of Falmouth) to special work in connection with Jamaica Mission Church.
,,			Opening of church at Cedar Valley.
,,	Oct.	11.	Death of Mrs. Heighington at Chapelton.
,,			Congregation at Brainerd connected with Presbyterian Church.
,,			Resignation of Rev. John Stoddart (Lucea).

1882.		Settlement of Rev. Duncan Forbes (formerly of Stirling) at Stirling.
,,		Induction of Rev. James Robertson (formerly of Greenisland) at Mount Carmel.
,,		Rev. James Martin takes charge, *pro tem.*, of New Broughton.
1883.		Death of Rev. H. H. Garnet (formerly of Stirling) at Liberia.
,,	Mar. 27.	Ordination of Mr. James Duncan Robertson at Ewing's Caymanas.
,,	April 18.	Ordination of Mr. George S. Turner at Salem, Eliot, and Camberwell.
,,	May.	Induction of Rev. Q. R. Noble (Carronhall) at Mount Zion.
,,		Settlement of Rev. H. L. M'Millan (formerly of Avonbridge) at Bellevue and Reid's Friendship.
,,		Ordination of Mr. John S. Ingram at Hampden.
,,	July 17.	Ordination of Mr. Osmond C. Dolphy at Chesterfield and Brandonhill.
,,		Rev. James Morton resumes work at Carronhall.
,,	Aug.	Opening of church at Ebenezer.
,,	Sept. 19.	Ordination of Mr. George Davidson, as colleague, at Goshen.
,,		Resignation of Rev. William Murray (Falmouth).
,,		Settlement of Rev. William Y. Turner, M.D. (formerly of Demerara), at Falmouth ; of Rev. William Risk Thomson at Lucea ; and of Rev. Robert Johnston, B.D., at New Broughton.
,,		Opening of church at Riverside.
,,		Formation of congregation at Little London.
1884.		Deposition of Rev. J. S. Ingram (Hampden).
,,		Resolution of Jamaica Presbyterian Synod to support mission agents in Old Calabar and Rajputana.
,,		Formation of congregations at Grove Town and Light of the Valley.
,,	Aug.	Opening of church at Mount Hermon.
,,	Oct. 12.	Opening of St. John's Church, Hannah Town, Kingston : station commenced by native students.
,,		Resignation of Rev. James Robertson (Mount Carmel).
1885.	Feb.	Opening of church at Baillieston.
,,	May.	Settlement of Rev. James Ballantine (Paris, Ontario, formerly of Kingston) at Hampden.

1885.			Induction of Rev. H. H. Hamilton (Victoria Town) at Mount Carmel and Light of the Valley, of Rev. H. L. M'Millan (Bellevue and Reid's Friendship) at Grand Cayman, and of Rev. John Smith (Grand Cayman) at Bellevue and Reid's Friendship.
,,			Resignation of Rev. E. B. Heighington (Chapelton) and of Rev. D. Forbes, Stirling.
,,	Dec.		Opening of church and formation of congregation at Alligator Pond.
,,	Dec.	31.	Ordination of Mr. John K. Braham at Victoria Town.
1886.			Formation of congregation at Pondside.
,,	Mar.	21.	Death of Rev. William Murray (formerly of Falmouth) at Canning, Nova Scotia.
,,			Resignation by Rev. L. Miller of Friendship charge, and of Rev. M. G. Mitchell (Cedar Valley).
,,	Oct.		Formation of congregation at St. John's, Kingston.
1887.	Jan.		Induction of Rev. G. Davidson (Goshen) at Bryce Church (Coleyville).
,,	May	5.	Opening of Carlile Memorial Church at Pondside.
,,	July	6.	Ordination of Mr. George S. Paterson at Stirling and Little London.
,,	July	7.	Ordination of Mr. James K. Gammon at Friendship.
,,			Resignation of Rev. William Gillies and of Rev. G. S. Turner (Salem and Eliot).
1888.	March.		Induction of Rev. G. Davidson (Bryce) at Chapelton.
,,	Oct.	10.	Ordination of Mr. Robert Dingwall at Bryce.
,,			Induction of Rev. E. B. Heighington (formerly of Chapelton) as colleagne at Goshen.
,,	Oct.	25.	Death of Rev. Richard Drummond at Greenisland.
,,			Resignation of Rev. J. K. Braham (Victoria Town) and Rev. Alex. Robb, D.D. (Kingston College).
,,			Rev. L. Miller (formerly of Friendship) takes charge, *pro tem.*, of Brownsville.
1889.	Feb.	11.	Death of Rev. John Aird (Goshen) at Villafield.
,,			Ordination of Mr. Archibald H. Hamilton at Greenisland, and of Mr. Isaac N. D. Gordon at Cedar Valley.
,,			Resignation of Rev. Andrew Baillie (Mount Olivet) and of Rev. H. B. Wolcott (Rosehill).
,,	June	25.	Ordination of Mr. Wm. A. O'Sullivan at Victoria Town.
,,	July	15.	Ordination of Mr. Samuel R. Brathwaite at St. John's, Kingston.
,,			Formation of congregations at Baillieston; and at North Side, Grand Cayman.

1889-90.		Visit of Rev. George Robson, D.D., and Rev. William Boyd, LL.D., evangelistic deputies, to Jamaica Mission.
1890.	Jan. 1.	Death of Rev. John Simpson (formerly of Port Maria) at Kingston.
,,		Resignation of Rev. James Martin (Carronhall).
,,		Appointment of Revs. G. B. Alexander, M.A., and Robert Johnston, B.D., as theological tutors.
,,	April 2.	Opening of church at Mount Carmel.
,,	April 17.	Opening of church at Mount Olivet.
,,	April 30.	Induction of Rev. George M'Neill (Brownsville) at Mount Olivet.
,,		Resignation of Rev. O. C. Dolphy (Chesterfield).
,,	Oct.	Settlement of Rev. Samuel M'Dowell at Carronhall.
,,		Mr. John Moore, B.D., probationer, appointed to a year's service in Jamaica.
,,	Dec.	Settlement of Rev. John L. Martin at Bodden Town, Grand Cayman.
,,		Induction of Rev. L. Miller (formerly of Friendship) at Rosehill and Brainerd.
1891.		Resignation of Rev. William A. O'Sullivan (Victoria Town).
,,	April 12.	Death of Rev. D. Forbes (formerly of Stirling) at Lucea.
,,	Oct.	Settlement of Rev. John F. Gartshore (formerly of Old Calabar) at Brownsville.
,,		Induction of Rev. Dr. William Y. Turner (Falmouth) at Castleton, Brandonhill, Chesterfield, and Camberwell.
1892.	Jan.	Opening of church at Light of the Valley.
,,	March.	Induction of Rev. H. H. Hamilton (Mount Carmel) at Goshen and Derry.
,,	March.	Opening of church at Brainerd.
,,	May.	Rev. James M'Nee (formerly of Guardbridge) takes charge, *pro tem.*, of Lucea.
,,	Sept.	Settlement of Rev. Thomas D. M'Nee (formerly of Wester Pardovan), as colleague, at Montego Bay.
,,		Settlement of Rev. S. H. Wilson (San Fernando, Trinidad) at Falmouth.
,,		Opening of station at Cypress Hall.
,,		Mr. W. R. Cordiner, M.A., probationer, appointed to a year's service in Jamaica.
1893.		The Rev. H. B. Wolcott's engagement as a missionary terminated.

1893.	The Rev. W. Risk Thomson, of Lucea, appointed to Old Calabar, and the Rev. James Macnee appointed to Lucea.
,,	New churches opened at Ewing's Caymanas, Eliot, Salem, and Little London.
,,	Mission church opened at West End, Kingston, by St. Andrew's congregation.
,,	The Rev. Edward Ross, M.A., appointed to Salem and Eliot.
,,	The Rev. W. Stevens Smith, M.A., appointed to Victoria.
,,	The Rev. James Robertson, formerly of Mount Carmel, died 31st August.
,,	New congregation formed at Cacoon.
,,	New station opened at Savannah-la-Mar.

II

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE TRINIDAD MISSION

1836.	Jan.		Settlement of Rev. Alexander Kennedy at Greyfriars Church, Port of Spain.
1837.			Arrival of Mr. James Robertson, teacher, at Trinidad.
1839.			Settlement of Rev. George Brodie at Arouca.
1845.			Attempt by Rev. James Robertson to found a station at San Fernando ; and withdrawal to Carenage, and settlement there.
1847.	Feb.	3.	Death at Port of Spain of Rev. James Robertson of Carenage.
1849.			Resignation of Rev. Alex. Kennedy, Port of Spain.
1850.			Transference of Rev. George Brodie to Port of Spain.
1854.			Settlement of Rev. George Lambert at Arouca.
1862.			Free Church at San Fernando joins United Presbyterian Mission: Rev. G. Lambert (Arouca) settled at San Fernando.
,,	July.		Settlement of Rev. W. F. Dickson (native of Jamaica) at Arouca.
1870.			Resignation of Rev. George Lambert (San Fernando).
1872.			Settlement and resignation of Rev. Alexander Burr (formerly of Pitrodie) at San Fernando.
1874.			Rev. Dr. S. T. Anderson takes charge of mission at San Fernando.
1875.	Oct.	7.	Death of Rev. George Brodie at Port of Spain.
1877.			Settlement of Rev. Alexander Falconer (formerly of Nova Scotia) at Port of Spain.
,,			Rev. Dr. Anderson leaves mission at San Fernando.
1878.			Settlement of Rev. D. S. Henderson at San Fernando.
1881.	Mar.	10.	Death of Rev. D. S. Henderson at San Fernando.
,,			Settlement of Rev. John Hendrie (formerly of Rajputana) at San Fernando.

1883.	Rev. John Hendrie (San Fernando) begins work among Hindu coolies at St. Joseph.
,,	Settlement of Rev. Stephen H. Wilson at San Fernando.
1885.	Resignation of Rev. Alexander Falconer, and settlement of Rev. William Aitken (formerly of Singapore) at Port of Spain.
1887.	Resignation of Rev. John Hendrie (St. Joseph).
1890.	Resignation of Rev. William Aitken (Port of Spain).
1891. Dec.	Settlement of Rev. E. A. M'Curdy (Canada) at Port of Spain.
1892.	Transference of Rev. S. H. Wilson (San Fernando) to Falmouth, Jamaica.

TABLE SHOWING PROGRESS OF THE JAMAICA MISSION BY THE AVERAGES OF QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS.

Average for the Five Years ending, and inclusive of	Number of Congregations.	Number of Communicants.	Number of Ordained Missionaries.		Number of other Missionary Agents approved and salaried by the Board — *exclusive* of Teachers.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.	Amount of Contributions of the Jamaica Church.	Average Giving per Member.		Expenditure of the Home Church on the Jamaica Mission.	Total Foreign Mission Expenditure of the Home Church.	Proportion of Total Foreign Mission Expenditure applied to Jamaica.
			European.	Native.				£	*s.*	*d.*	£	£	
1853, . .	22½	3919	15	...	7	41	2930	2072	10	5	6478	12,454	·52
1858, . .	24½	4222	18	...	8	44	3082	2590	12	10½	6882	14,569	·47
1863, . .	25½	5101	19	3	4	40	3081	3889	15	4½	5952	18,709	·31
1868, . .	26	4899	18	6	1	44	2942	2803	11	3	6153	21,875	·28
1873, . .	26	5291	16	4	3	51	4366	3709	14	0	4667	34,085	·13
1878, . .	29	6133	15	5	7	60	5085	4801	15	8	4800	41,105	·11
1883, . .	36	7599	17	8	7	64	5239	5180	13	9	4759	36,270	·13
1888, . .	45	8837	19	12	1	75	6261	6936	15	8	4038	39,408	·10
1892 (4 years),	50½	9919	17	13	1	82	7860	7556	15	2¾	3469	34,633	·10
STATISTICS FOR 1893.													
1893, . .	54	10,692	19	11	...	92	9781	8092	15	1¾	3324	33,404	·099

MISSION MAP OF JAMAICA

NOTE

Principal Stations marked thus Lucea ■

Congl. Outstations " " Cacoon ●

Other " " " Pell River +

78
30
77
STIRLING
Bannockburn
Buchlyvie
Alloa
Clackmannan
Kelly
Lochgelly
Dysart
Kirkcaldy
Oakley
Kinnesswine
Crossgates
Aberdour
Dunfermline
Burntisland
Grangemouth
Larbert
Denny
Falkirk
Linlithgow
Queensferry
Cramond
Leith
EDINBURGH
Portobello
Musselburgh
Balfron
Killearn
Campsie
Jamestown
Dumbarton
Kilpatrick
Kirkintilloch
Lenzie Jun.
Coatbridge
Airdrie
Bathgate
Uphall
Bathgate
Gogar
Midcalder
Rosslyn
Dalkeith
Gorebridge
Penicuik
Harburn
Shotts
Holytown
Motherwell
Wishaw
Hamilton
Rutherglen
Paisley
GLASGOW
Renfrew
Bishop Bridges
Partick
Govan
Whiteinch
Clydebank
Dumbarton
Helensburgh
Gareloch
Loch Long
Loch Lomond
Arrochar
Tarbet
Inveraray
Loch Fyne
Dunoon
Rothesay
Isle of Bute
Largs
Ardrossan
Irvine
Kilmarnock
Ayr
Firth of Clyde
Cumbrae Islands
Arran
Brodick
Lamlash
Holy Isle
Ailsa Craig
Girvan
Stranraer
Loch Ryan
Portpatrick
Wigtown
Newton Stewart
Glenluce
Port William
Whithorn
Isle of Whithorn
Luce Bay
Drummore
Mull of Galloway
Sandhead
Glenapp
Ballantrae
Lochranza
Campbeltown
Loch Kilbrannan
Machrihanish
Kintyre
Mull of Kintyre
Gigha
Islay
Jura
Colonsay
Oronsay
Loch Gruinart
Port Ellen
Loch Indaal
Bowmore
Port Askaig
Sound of Islay
Gulf of Corryvreckan
Scarba
Lunga
Luing
Seil
Oban
Kerrera
Firth of Lorn
Loch Etive
Connel
Ben Cruachan
Dalmally
Loch Awe
Kilchurn Castle
Inveraray
Loch Fyne
Tarbert
Loch Tarbert
Loch Sween
Crinan
Loch Crinan
Ardrishaig
Loch Gilp
Lochgilphead
Kilmartin
Kilmichael
Glen Aray
Glen Shira
Loch Shira
Loch Eck
Dunoon
Rothesay
Isle of Bute
Kyles of Bute
Millport
Isle of Cumbrae

STORY OF THE MISSION IN OLD CALABAR

Steamer Anchorage, Old Calabar River.

Missions of the

United Presbyterian Church

STORY OF THE MISSION IN OLD CALABAR

BY

REV. WILLIAM DICKIE, M.A.
DOWANHILL, GLASGOW

Edinburgh
OFFICES OF UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
1894

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PREFACE

This is not a history of our mission in Old Calabar. It is simply the story of our fifty years' work among the Calabarese, popularly told. Any one who wishes a detailed history must turn to the sources from which this story has been derived—Waddell's *Twenty-nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa*, Goldie's *Calabar and its Mission*, the biographies of Jameson, George Thomson, Campbell, etc.; and, above all, to the file of the *Missionary Record* since its commencement in 1846.

The writing of this story has been a labour of love, and has confirmed the writer's conviction that missions are the life-blood of the Church and the inspiration of every vital ministry.

To many of the older members of the Church this story is known from beginning to end. But there is a generation growing up which knows little or nothing of the strife and heroism and triumphs associated with the

earlier years of our work on the western shores of Africa. We make appeal to the rising generation, in the hope that, by reading this story, their knowledge of the past may stimulate their interest in the present, and lead them, by the grace of God, to attempt greater things in the future.

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THE STORY OF THE MISSION IN OLD CALABAR

CHAPTER I

DAYBREAK IN OLD CALABAR

In July 1841—a few years after the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indian Islands—there met in Goshen a company of ministers and elders called the Presbytery of Jamaica. For two years it had laid upon itself as a burden the evangelisation of Africa, but the design seemed only like a dream, the spell of which was broken each time the company dispersed into the glare of common life. At this meeting, however, an event occurred which ripened the faith and the courage of the brethren, and led to decisive action.

Presbytery of Jamaica.

This event was the arrival of a copy of Sir T. F. Buxton's book on the *Slave Trade and its Remedy.* This book was greedily perused; and so much light did it cast upon the problem, that an express messenger was sent to Kingston to buy up a dozen copies which had just reached there, so that each congregation might have a copy. Buxton, who, along with

Influence of Buxton's "Slave Trade and its Remedy."

Wilberforce, had devoted his life to the abolition of slavery, warmly advocated the capacity of the negro for religious training, and at the same time, with remarkable insight, interpreted the generosity of the freedmen's hearts. He argued that "a race of teachers of their own blood is already in course of active preparation for them; that the providence of God has overruled even slavery and the slave trade for this end; and that from among the settlers of Sierra Leone, the peasantry of the West Indies, and the thousands of their children now receiving a Christian education, may be expected to arise a body of men, who will return to the land of their fathers, carrying divine truth and all its concomitant blessings into the heart of Africa."

The prophecy of the philanthropist assisted its own fulfilment. The dream of a Christianised Africa enchanted and awed each mind. All other business was suspended, and the day was given over to prayer. The Rev. Hope M. Waddell, the William Carey of the movement, introduced the subject. After he sat down all were silent. Then each of the eight ministers present rose in turn and solemnly dedicated himself to Africa, if God should call him. The scene had a moral sublimity of its own—the grandeur of the object; the apparent impotence of the means; the conviction that "all power" would be with them. "Do you ask how I felt?" says Miss Jameson, who was

REV. H. M. WADDELL.

Eight dedicate themselves to Africa.

present; "I was lifted above myself at the noble bravery of the men."

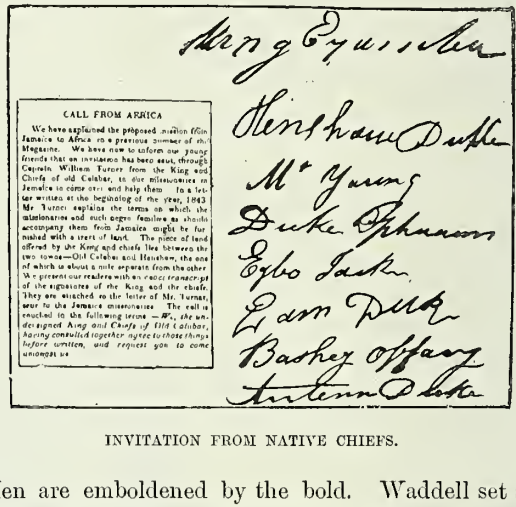
But difficulties here began. The little Jamaica Presbytery, composed of agents of the Scottish Missionary Society, most of them ministers of the United Secession Church, had to educate Christian opinion at home. Messrs. Blyth and Anderson, being home from Jamaica on furlough, awakened interest in Scotland. Dr. Robson of Glasgow, having just returned from a visit to Jamaica, became a hearty advocate. Sentiment for a time wavered. The experience of other missionary enterprises in Africa was disappointing. Nearly half the soldiers who had attempted to scale the walls of the stronghold of darkness had fallen in the trench. Thirty-one out of eighty-nine had, within twelve months of their arrival, fallen in Sierra Leone; seven out of twelve in Liberia; whilst two bands of nine men, shortly after setting foot on the Gold Coast, had been exterminated by fever. To some it seemed madness to send more to the front. But others had that "divine insanity of noble minds," which counts truth more precious than life, and the cause and command of Christ more to be respected than death. Heroism prevailed.

Difficulties.

In 1843 a letter from Old Calabar hastened a decision. King Eyamba and seven of his chiefs offered ground and protection and a welcome to the missionaries who might come to Duke Town. Correspondence was begun. After a year's delay, Eyamba again expressed his wish for the missionaries. But whilst Scotland discussed, Jamaica resolved upon action. The presbytery met in September 1844 specially to consider the situation, and, having determined to go forward, it appointed Mr. Waddell its representative

Correspondence with Old Calabar.

to Scotland and its first agent in Old Calabar. "It will be a sore trial," said his wife, "to leave this place and people, where we have been so long and so happy, and to go with these young children to a new country. But you must go where the Lord calls you, and it is my duty to go with you."



CALL FROM AFRICA

We have explained the proposed mission from Jamaica to Africa in a previous number of this Magazine. We have now to inform our young friends that an invitation has been sent, through Captain William Turner from the King and Chiefs of old Calabar, to our missionaries in Jamaica to come over and help them. In a letter written at the beginning of the year, 1843 Mr. Turner explains the terms on which the missionaries and such negro families as should accompany them from Jamaica might be furnished with a tract of land. The piece of land offered by the King and chiefs lies between the two towns—Old Calabar and Henshaw, the one of which is about a mile separate from the other. We present our readers with an exact transcript of the signatures of the King and the chiefs. They are attached to the letter of Mr. Turner, sent to the Jamaica missionaries. The call is couched in the following terms:—*We, the undersigned King and Chiefs of Old Calabar, having consulted together upon those things before written, and request you to come amongst us.*

King Eyamba
Henshaw Duke
Mr Young
Duke Ephraim
Egbo Jack
Eyamba Duke
Bashey Offiong
Antem Obokta

INVITATION FROM NATIVE CHIEFS.

Men are emboldened by the bold. Waddell set sail for Scotland in January 1845, and, after a tedious voyage, in which he was shipwrecked on Grand Cayman, he reached his destination and began to press the claims of Africa. The United Secession Church adopted the mission which had been born and cradled in Jamaica. In the first year £4000 were raised for its support. Provost Baikie, of Kirkwall, offered a new sloop to the mission. Mr. Jamieson, a Liverpool merchant, gave the use of a brigantine, the "Warree," and £100 a year for working

Waddell sets sail.

expenses. Expectation ran high. The Church throbbed with the joy of a new enterprise. The students caught fire. The Secession and Relief Halls agreed to unite in collecting £100—each student to address six public meetings and to spend an hour on the first Sabbath of each month in prayer for Calabar.

The pioneers.

The "Warree" set sail on 6th January 1846. The missionary party consisted of the Rev. Hope M. Waddell; Mr. Samuel Edgerley, printer and catechist from Jamaica; Mrs. Edgerley, experienced as a teacher; Andrew Chisholm, carpenter, a brown man; Edward Miller, teacher; and George, Mr. Waddell's coloured boy. The band of mercy arrived at Duke Town on the 10th of April, and it was daybreak in Old Calabar.

CHAPTER II

FIRST EXPERIENCES

Among the first to meet the mission band was King Eyo Honesty of Creek Town. He sailed along in a six-oared boat, followed by two canoes of war manned by twenty-eight paddles, and armed with swivel guns in the bows. Eyo, a sagacious, clever, honest, open-faced man, was dressed in native grandeur —a silk loin-cloth, a white beaver hat, strings of beads on neck and arms. Two pages attended him, one carrying his gold snuff-box, the other a pair of pistols and a sword. Eyo welcomed Mr. Waddell and his friends, and proved himself to be one of nature's gentlemen—courteous, sober-living, and just.

Calabar kings.

In the evening of their arrival the missionaries went ashore to pay their respects to King Eyamba of Duke Town. His "palace" was a two-storey iron house, which had been constructed for him in Liverpool. Its furnishings were beautiful, varied, and to a large extent inappropriate. In his yard were to be seen mahogany chests of drawers, puncheons of rum, hogsheads of tobacco, iron pots, bales of Manchester cloth, crates of earthenware, and, although there were neither roads nor horses, two four-wheeled carriages. Eyamba himself was a large, coarse-faced, and coarse-natured man, a keen trader, with a commercial interest in the gospel.

In a few days arrangements were made in regard to the site of the mission station. "I look long time for you," said Eyamba; "glad you come now for live here; look about and choose what place you like for make house . . . I glad you come. That palaver done."

Next Sabbath a Bible from friends in Scotland was presented to the king. He received the missionaries in state in an elegant apartment. Eyamba, in satin hat

DUKE TOWN.

and feathers and waist-cloth, and beads and brass, strutted in front of the large mirrors which hung around the room. Two peacocks did likewise. By-and-by Eyamba sat down on a chair of solid brass under a canopy. Four sofas were provided for the missionaries. The Bible was presented, the object of the mission explained, and Eyamba, proud of his good fortune and vaguely expectant of better fortune, thanked the missionaries and the God who sent them.

The site which was chosen was one of the best around Duke Town. It was on a hill between Duke Town and Henshaw Town, which were separated by the distance of about a mile. But the bush had to be cleared away. Then Waddell discovered something of the inhumanity of heathenism. This well-known haunt of panthers was the receptacle for the corpses of the commonalty. Bodies in all stages of putrefaction were found; and even during clearing operations, the newly dead were brought, tied hands and feet, slung over a pole, to be tossed into the bush. After many protests, Waddell got this stopped, and, having brought trunks of trees from the mangrove swamps seven miles away, the house was at length built, the printing-press set up, and the gospel preached.

The site of mission at Duke Town.

Some strange customs soon came under observation. The Calabar week was found to have eight days. The first was a general holiday, on which the kings entertained. The royal dinners were sumptuous in their own way. Yams and fish and palm oil, yams and goat-flesh, pounded yams or *fufu*, were favourite dishes. A piece of the *fufu* the size of an egg was rolled by the guest between his hands, and, having stuck his middle finger into the savoury ball, he dipped it into the sauce, and bolted it whole. Eyamba was not an abstainer. When he quaffed his potion, one of the "gentlemen" went beneath the table and held his toes—a custom the origin of which is enveloped in obscurity. It may have been an expedient for the preservation of the equilibrium of royalty. Eyo, king of Creek Town, on the other hand, was abstemious. The captain of one of the trading vessels which brought the drink, once asked him, whilst

Some strange customs.

at dinner, "Why do you never drink wine?" "If I begin to drink wine," replied Eyo, "what will become of my trade, and of yours too?"

The inhabitants were found to be keen traders. Their markets were as busy as bee-hives. Their coinage consisted of brass rings and rods—still, to a large extent, the coin of the realm; so that a chief requires a slave to carry his collection to church, and the church plate has to be a box of considerable dimensions. Fish, flesh, yams, plantains, and shrimps meet the eye, and the imagination is awakened by the fact that the butcher meat is sold *with the skin and hair on*. The purchaser thus knows what he is getting. The custom was resorted to in the old slave-trade times, to prevent cannibalism, conscious or unconscious.

Gentility and brass go together. The rings around arms and legs indicate a woman's rank. Indeed, the burden of rank is sometimes unbearable. One of Eyamba's little girls was so weighted with brass that she could not walk to school —she had to be carried on a slave's back. But the anklets were a protection to those who could afford to wear them. Were you to see some women coming along clothed with little else than these ornaments, a native would tell you: "They be gentlewomen. If any man meets them, and want to put hands on them, when he see the brass rings he fear."

Calabarese gentlewomen.

Not long after the house was built, our missionaries were honoured with a royal visit. Eyamba entered his four-wheeler, called in Efik "a white people's cow-house"—horse-house being meant, but as the horse is not native, it is spoken of as the foreign cow. Eight sturdy men pulled like oxen. How it was pulled through the village streets remains a

A State visit.

puzzle almost as great as the building of the Pyramids. Up the hill by a mere foot-track it was dragged, lifted, hurtled through grass and mud-ruts and decayed bush, till the mission-house was reached, and the king paid his respects. The journey home was even more perilous; but his sable majesty, with characteristic pluck and with a becoming sense of his dignity, kept on board even in the roughest tossings of the storm until the palace was reached, and the four-wheeler was safely consigned to its accustomed seclusion.

But the humour of this childish simplicity was of brief enjoyment in face of the pathos of heathenism.

Willy Tom Robins of Old Town.

Soon after the arrival of our missionaries, they resolved to start a school in Old Town, and the task was assigned to Mr. Samuel Edgerley. Old Town is a few miles farther up the Old Calabar river than Duke Town, and commands a stretch of river scenery ten miles long as far as Alligator Island. Here they were met by Willy Tom Robins, the chief, a superstitious, crafty, mischievous, suspicious old man, who remained to the end as hard as flint towards the gospel. Willy took the missionaries into his house. At his doorstep were two human skulls—the skulls of enemies, as charms against enemies. Over his door hung a wasps' nest, the wasps flying about everywhere. Mr. Waddell suggested to break it down. "No, no, no for touch; them my doctor and keep my house." "Better you trust in God and pray to Him to keep you." "Yes, God do everything; He do good; He do bad." The omnipotence of God had no protection for Willy. The wasps at least prevented calamity.

Willy resisted light as if it were fire. Mr. Edgerley laboured there for some years, teaching, preaching, and printing, but old Willy frustrated every effort. It was

found necessary to clear away the bush around a spring, from which the mission drew its drinking water. Willy complained of disturbing his shadow, or soul, which, he said, he kept in that sacred place. "You always tell me that man must mind his soul. Why do you send your men to cut bush that place my soul live, and trouble my soul? Make them go away, and no trouble my soul no more."

The missionaries found the work progressed most rapidly in Creek Town. Here a house had been built. King Eyo acted as interpreter, and his personal influence was exerted in favour of the new cause. He was an enlightened man, and was anxious to see the abolition of many of the heathen and cruel customs of his people, but he was too prudent to compel obedience. At Duke Town, Eyamba's brother, known as Mr. Young, acted as interpreter; but his lack of sympathy with the message weakened its power. Sometimes Mr. Young took more than an interpreter's liberty in rendering the speaker's thoughts. In translating an address on the rich man and Lazarus, he interpolated, for the edification of the hearers, that as for himself, he would prefer to be the rich man. On another occasion, when the missionary imagined that the divine message was being delivered, it was discovered that Mr. Young was improving the occasion by giving the audience instructions regarding some piece of work he had on hand. Difficulties like these do not now occur. Our missionaries speak in the tongue of the natives.

An enlightened king.

In October 1846, after six months of pioneering, Mr. Waddell set sail for Jamaica to report and to bring back reinforcements, whilst the rest of the mission party went to Fernando Po to escape "the smokes," or dry, hazy season.

Reporting progress.

The experience of these few months had deepened his sense of the needs of Old Calabar, as well as inspired him with the hope of winning the land for Christ. A successful beginning had been made. Schools had been opened, the gospel had been preached, the first printed pages in the Efik language had been issued by Mr. Edgerley. But an event happened shortly before their departure, which opened their eyes to the tremendous savagery of heathenism. This event was the death of John Duke, and leads us to speak of some of the superstitions of the people.

CHAPTER III

SOME SUPERSTITIONS

THE death of John Duke revealed the darkest side of Calabar life. This event happened only a few days before Mr. Waddell's departure for Jamaica, but even in June strong suspicions of the prevalence of human sacrifice had been roused. Egbo Jack's principal wife had died, and the mourning husband had sent to the plantation for a number of his slaves. Next day a large alligator floated down the river past the ship in which Waddell was preaching. It seemed helpless with gluttony. The natives, who knew the talk of the town, explained the phenomenon by the fact that Egbo Jack had sacrificed four slaves to express his sorrow and to do his wife honour; whilst Eyamba, Adam Duke, and Archibong had slain one each out of respect for their friend. They had cast the poor victims into the river. When Waddell accused them of this crime, they evaded the charge or were silent. One replied that men were killed in England by law; another made the significant assertion—"Slaves be nothing."

A suspicious alligator.

But when John Duke died in October 1846 the funeral rites were gigantic and ghastly. Slaves were indeed nothing. When they died they were tossed into the bush; but a chief would be nobody if he went into the world of shadows without a retinue. In Calabar

death was not supposed to level social distinctions. "If you have no one with you when you die," said a native, "*Ëkpo* country will say, What poor slave is that coming now? he has not one boy to carry his snuff-box."

John Duke, being the brother of a former king, required a retinue proportionate to his estate. His slaves knew this. Many of them fled on the news of his death. Women and girls especially were slaughtered. Five girls were seen dragged through the town to be sacrificed. The chiefs each slew several domestics, and sent off their canoes to their farms for more. The mother of John Duke is reported to have remarked, "He has left no children; kill the half of the slaves; no use to leave them behind." It is reckoned that one hundred slaves suffered death at this time, in order to satisfy the dignity of this chief.

Ghastly funeral rites.

Waddell made a noble effort to check this vile superstition. He met the king and chiefs of Duke Town, who had clandestinely taken part in the murders, and brought the crime home to them so vividly, that by the fear he created he shook their faith in the barbarous custom. "I declare to you before God," said he, "your God and mine, the great God of heaven and earth, that you have done a great crime, a most monstrous wickedness, and these poor slaves you have killed will rise up in judgment against you at the last day."

Connected with the rites of the dead were some curious customs. It was supposed that the shadows or ghosts of the deceased revisited the haunts with which they were once familiar, and it is a strange commentary on the savage mind, that it never dreams of any spirit returning with a benignant intention. The departed are invariably dreaded, for their power is always baneful.

About four days after burial the face-washing or

Uyeriso takes place. Those engaged in the burial then wash their hands and faces, and supplicate the dead to do them no injury. In order to propitiate the departed, a table, covered with household goods and meat and drink, is erected to supply the needs of the spirit when it returns from the spirit-world.

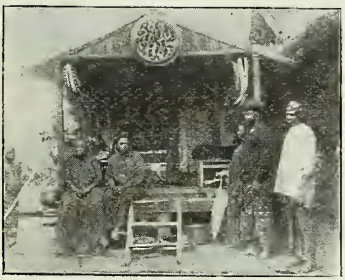
Uyeriso.

But the *Ikpo* is the principal funeral rite. It is a festival in honour of the dead, and is celebrated any time within a year or so after the decease. It is a time of great rejoicing. Amusements, dancing, games, and rum are freely indulged in. A marriage is a dull business in comparison with an *Ikpo* or devil-making. Until the *Ikpo* is celebrated the widows of a chief are confined to the harem, denied the luxury of personal cleanliness, and are treated as if they were guilty of their husband's death. When the devil-making is finished, the widows are flogged and fined, and either sent back to their own family or retained as the property of the heir of the deceased.

Ikpo.

But the departed do not soon depart. The ghost or shadow still lingers about town, and for its convenience a house is erected and furnished, and stocked with food. But as the living are known to be less honest than the dead, the furniture and dishes are broken. This devil-house, as it is called, is supposed to be visited and used by the devil, or spirit of the deceased, when he revisits his old haunts.

Devil-houses.



HOUSE FOR DEAD MAN'S SPIRIT.

Another curious custom is the *Ndök*, or biennial purgation of the town. Early in December every alternate year, all the devils or ghosts are expelled. This strange ceremony reveals traces of totemism. The spirits are supposed to have a mysterious relation to certain animals. The spirit and the totem are regarded as peculiarly identified with each other. Hence, against the day of the purgation, rude figures of tigers, alligators, cows, elephants, etc., are made. These *Nabikïm* are distributed throughout the town. At three o'clock in the morning bells are rung, doors slammed and banged and beaten, shrieks and yells and groans fill the streets, cattle stampede through the town, and every one competes in noise-making to terrify the spirits. When the day breaks the houses are brushed down and cleaned out, the totems are cast into the river, and the town is rid of all its ghosts.

Ndök and Nabikïm.

Other traces of totemism appear in some of the Calabar superstitions. *Ukpöng* is the word used for a man's shadow or ghost, but it is also applied to his totem, or to the animal with which the man is supposed to be related. The *ukpöng* of the man and the *ukpöng* of the animal mutually affect each other. If his totem dies, the man imagines he shall die also. He is therefore always beneficent towards his totem, and occasionally is known to be kind to an animal in which the *ukpöng* of a friend is supposed to reside.

Ukpöng.

But the malevolence of heathenism is seen in some of the customs. The spiritual powers are evil continually. Among the Ököyöng people treaties with other tribes were ratified by burying a man alive. His spirit was expected to play the part of avenger to the treaty-breaker. At the mouth

Human sacrifices.

of the river a tribe of fisher-people sacrificed a young woman every year to propitiate the river gods and to secure a good season. Mr. Goldie tells of a chief, who during his sickness was discovered to have a bundle lying at his feet. On the visitor poking this with his staff, there rolled out a human skull. One of his slaves had been beheaded, in the hope that the slave's life might be accepted in lieu of his master's.

CHAPTER IV

REINFORCEMENTS

The mission party remained in Fernando Po from October till February, in order to avoid "the smokes," or dry season of Old Calabar — a custom which was soon departed from. Mr. Waddell returned to Jamaica, to report regarding the mission venture and to demit his charge at Mount Zion. But he had not long departed when the first blow fell upon the little band of workers, in the death of Edward Miller, the negro assistant—a devoted youth, once a slave, afterwards a true bondsman of Christ. The first in our Calabar list of dead, his testimony struck the note of Christian heroism, which has been echoed and re-echoed so frequently since the feet of Christ's messengers stepped upon that fatal shore. "Thank God, I'm on the rock," he said to good Mrs. Edgerley; and when Dr. Prince, the Baptist missionary at Fernando Po, inquired of him whether he repented having left Jamaica to come to Africa, he replied, "No, I never did," and once again more emphatically, "No, I never did."

The first death.

It was not long till reinforcements arrived. The Rev. William Jameson, of Goshen, Jamaica, a man of saintly and fervent spirit, had long contemplated the privilege of pioneering in Africa. Even in the year

1843, when Waddell and he sat under the Aki tree behind the manse in Mount Zion, musing over the projected mission to the blacks —at that time an uncommon undertaking— the two eager spirits "waiting to strive the happy strife, to war with falsehood to the knife," had covenanted with each other that if either was called to go, the other would be the first to follow. Jameson kept his pledge, and arrived at the scene of his labours in February 1847.

Arrival of Jameson.

REV. W. JAMESON.

Jameson threw himself into the work with characteristic zeal. He found that by the labours of Waddell and Edgerley, from April till October, much had been done in clearing the ground for laying a good foundation for the Church of Christ. Two schools had been opened, a printing-press had been erected, two schoolbooks had been printed, an Efik vocabulary of nearly three thousand words had been lithographed, and the natives had heard the gospel preached and seen it lived at their very doors.

The absence of the mission party during the "smokes," though it had interrupted, had not undone the work. Edgerley resumed the school in Duke Town, Jameson started in Creek Town. Jameson's school had soon about sixty children. Every Sabbath he held a service in the king's yard, the king acting as interpreter. Sometimes Eyo advised the missionary regarding his work. At one time he requested Jameson to tell them

plainly all that was evil in the customs of the people—which Jameson did with eloquence and earnestness. But when he found that Jameson shortened the reading of Scripture, and lengthened his discourse, he shrewdly observed: "I wish you would read more of God's word, for when you don't read plenty, the people think that you *saby* it out of your own head." In this way the king granted the "liberty of prophesying," and announced and upheld the authority of Scripture.

Jameson interested the natives in many ways. His kindliness invented means and opportunities. The mysteries of the microscope amazed the natives; but when he set off the mysteries of the telescope against those of the microscope, they were confounded. To bring the people of Duke Town, six miles away, to his very door in Creek Town, by means of this little instrument, and in less than the twinkling of an eye, was a miracle which filled the natives with amazement at the white man's ingenuity.

Whilst the work was quickly progressing, it was whispered that Eyamba was dead. The king's death was not without some pathos. With that indiscreet bravery often characteristic of the savage, he presided at his table when the death cup was already at his lips. Next day he settled his accounts, visited one of the trading ships, and remained to breakfast. He left the ship, and counted eagerly the number of guns fired as a salute. He had just reached his house as the seventh was discharged, when he sank back and expired, satisfied that he had received the honour due to a king.

Eyamba and his last salute.

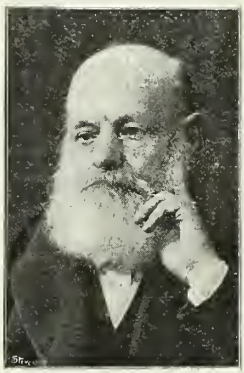
The work of death now began. Slaves fled, and every one who valued his life sought a hiding-place.

The dreaded news was kept back as long as possible, that chiefs might procure sacrifices. Edgerley's man Inga saw the king's brother, Mr. Young, as he was called, enter a house, fasten the doors, seize a poor woman, place a strong copper wire round her neck, and strangle her on the spot. Edgerley hurried to the king's house to stop the massacres. On looking under the door of the room in which Eyamba died, he saw a number of women who were waiting to be sacrificed. Chiefs offered up their slaves. Husbands returned from the fields and found their wives murdered. Boys and girls were not exempted, and the school had to be shut. A pit was dug, and Eyamba was laid in it in state on two sofas. His sword-bearer, snuff-box carrier, and umbrella-holder were taken to the side of the grave, their heads were knocked off, and they were tumbled into the pit, along with numerous other attendants. Eyamba had a hundred wives. Thirty of these were sent into the next world to accompany their master. As each was summoned, the order was given with significant but ghastly courtesy, "The king calls you." The wife then decorated herself with her finest ornaments, drank copiously of rum, and went into the outer yard. Here a piece of fine wire, or a piece of neatly twisted silk (a mark of honour paid to a wife—a piece of cord was good enough for a slave) was put round her neck, and she was strangled.

The brutality of heathenism.

This work went on for days. Jameson and Edgerley were horrified by the bloody practices, and made every effort to save life, but found it difficult to effect much until Waddell arrived upon the scene, accompanied by the Rev. Hugh Goldie and other teachers and artisans. Having heard that more sacrifices were likely

soon to be made at the devil-making for the king, they at once took action, and expostulated with the chiefs, with the result that meanwhile the thirst for blood was appeased.



REV. HUGH GOLDIE.

The arrival of this reinforcement in June 1847 revived the work. Creek Town, Duke Town, and Old Town were now occupied. Peace had been restored, and the little band of workers sat around the Lord's Table for the first time in Old Calabar on the 1st day of August. But, like a bolt from the blue, the first great blow fell upon the mission. The saintly Jameson, a descendant of two of the Seeession Fathers, Wilson and Monerieff, siekened and died, at the early age of thirty-nine. He had exposed himself unduly to the weather, had worked too laboriously, and no doubt had suffered mueh from the horrors whieh sueeeeded Eyamba's death. There were loud lamentations in Jamaica and in Scotland, where he was well known and well beloved; but the heart of Calabar was also touched, and young Eyo uttered the thoughts of the people when he wrote to Waddell these simple sentenees:—

Death of Jameson.

"My dear Master and Friend,—I am too sorry about your brother Mr. Jameson died, and I hope you will not go away leave us, because God been give us good friend, and take him away again. We eannot tell why

He do this, but I am very much sorry. I hope God will keep you well to us, to stop and teach we all know Him.—With best compliments, I am your friend,

"Y. Eyo Hty."

Eyo's words confirm the last sentence of an unfinished letter of Jameson's to a friend in Jamaica—"Our work here is full of interest and full of hope."

CHAPTER V.

IN THE THICK OF THE FIGHT

THE missionary band, though perplexed, were not in despair. The probabilities of death had been faced, and they knew that Jameson had offered his life, like "an alabaster box of ointment of spikenard very precious," at the feet of Jesus. They may have counted, but they did not grudge the cost. There was no time for foolish calculations when so many devils had to be cast out. The new apostles proceeded at once to grapple with the powers of darkness.

In some respects the work was tedious. For a long time no converts appeared. But converts were being made. The first duty was to create social conditions in which it might be possible for converts to live. For that reason the pioneer's work was to drive out of the land the rank superstitions and horrible customs under which the people were held down as under a heel of iron. The sublime aspects of Christian truth could not be fully taught at first. Here, as in Israel, the law had to come before the gospel; idols had to be abolished, the groves of false gods broken down, and the native prophets confounded.

In this pioneer work, Waddell, Goldie, and Anderson, the three veterans of Old Calabar still spared to us, did noble service. They have the singular distinction of

making a people's history, and of adding a brilliant chapter to the story of the conquest of Africa. The first brush-strokes on the canvas, the first blows of mallet and chisel on the marble, are the most significant—they determine all that follows. So in the founding of a mission the future depends upon the prudence and fidelity of the first few years of labour.

The three veterans.

The consecrated ingenuity and hopeful persistence of the missionaries levelled the heathen superstitions and practices bit by bit. Mr. Goldie soon mastered the language, and composed a catechism in Efik and English, four hundred copies of which were printed in Old Calabar within about a year. He also got the Ten Commandments printed in Efik on broad sheets, and hung them up in the houses. The older boys in the schools soon were able to read the Bible, passages of which were translated by Mr. Goldie. The work done within about three years may be indicated by the fact that during that time Mr. Edgerley had thrown off from his printing-press 55,300 pages for the enlightenment of Old Calabar.

Translating and printing.

Other means were taken to educate the people. In 1848 they received their first and much-needed object-lesson in marriage. In Old Calabar the marriage customs are singularly absurd, as well as painfully degrading. Wives are obtained in various ways. They are very frequently bought. Covenants are often ratified by one of the parties gifting one of his daughters to the other party. To refuse such a gift when unacceptable would lead to the rupture of the bargain. King Eyo had to accept more than he wanted, as a matter of inter-tribal policy. The rejected maid would have led to war. Sometimes parents arranged the match. The young girl is sent

Marriage in Old Calabar.

before marriage to one of the farms to be fattened, as fatness is one of the points of female beauty. After she has been brought up to the proper weight, she publicly exhibits herself to her admiring friends, hobbling along still more heavily weighted with her dowry of brass rings around arms and legs and neck. Then she sits down and receives her marriage presents. Her father gives his presents, then rubs some earth on the back of her right hand, and she is removed to the house of her husband.

Marriage, however, is a distinction which is rarely aspired to. Only people of some note marry, and even then it is more regarded as a union of families than of individuals. A few of the chief slaves marry; but most live with whomsoever they like, and only as long or short as they like. He is a poor fellow who has only one wife—he is a man of no standing. The elevation of women was therefore one of the problems which Christianity had to set itself to face in Old Calabar.

In view of this degradation of womanhood, the marriage of Henry Hamilton and Mary Brown, two of the blacks who came from Jamaica with the missionary band, served as a valuable object-lesson on the subject of matrimony. The ceremony was performed in public, to the delight of all. The king and his son were present, together with all the school children. In the evening Eyo explained the marriage ceremony to the chiefs at his table; and what surprised them was that Hamilton, the lucky fellow, had not to pay anything for his wife! "He get such a fine wife for nothing. White man's fashion be very good." Young Eyo, a youth who promised well, learned the lesson of the day, as may be seen from his graphic comparison of the Calabar marriage customs and our own. "The singing men and women," he said, "bring the woman to the man's

house; she sit down on a chair, and all people come look at her, so big and fat, and give her as *dash* plenty things. Then he have to pay so many coppers to them people that bring her, and so much chop and rum. But no one ask them if they like each other, or tell them word how to do everything proper. *Chi!* it be all same thing as bring two monkeys together. If God keep my heart I never will marry Calabar fashion."

First marriage of native Christians.

But about two years afterwards the first advance in this social reform was made by the marriage of two natives, Akpo and Odu—the first regular marriage of natives in Old Calabar. This happened in 1850, and was a cheering result of years of labour. This direct breach of Calabar custom led some to ridicule and some to revile; but the sight of a native and his wife living in Christian wedlock was as sweet and prophetic to the eyes of the missionaries as the tender blade of spring to the husbandman.

Agitation for Sabbath observance.

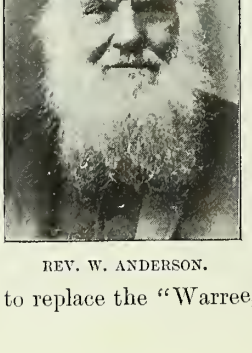
But another reform had long claimed the attention of the brethren. In the history of missions it has been found that the observance of the Sabbath must be secured before much good can be effected. The commandment to keep the Sabbath holy is a condition of the keeping of the other nine. From the beginning King Eyo had been favourably disposed towards this reform, but it was hard to break the customs of the people. Occasionally a big palaver would interrupt the observance of the holy day; sometimes the market, sometimes the slaves being forced to work. But the preaching, together with the example of the mission household, soon began to tell. In 1849 a young fellow objected to work on the Sabbath, saying he had done plenty bad things already, and that he "wanted to knock off and follow God's

way now." His master threatened him with death, but he quietly replied, "Better to die and be saved than live and be damned."

The fidelity of this youth gave courage to others. Abstinence from Sabbath work soon became a mode of indirect confession of Christ, and led many to identify themselves with the new cause. But the Sabbath markets were still maintained, and proved a hindrance to the gospel. After long and gentle pressure, at the close of 1850, Eyo summoned the chiefs, and it was agreed that the Sabbath market in Creek Town should be abolished. It was a day of victory to the missionaries, and marked the tide of public opinion. The missionaries feasted the king and chiefs and a hundred of the school children, and praised God that henceforth, at least on one day of the week, the poor Calabarese would have time and opportunity for learning more of the gospel of Christ.

Abolition of Sabbath market in Creek Town.

The arrival of the Rev. William Anderson from Jamaica, in February 1849, to take the place of Jameson, added a new force to the mission. Waddell was at this time in Scotland, creating and satisfying a thirst for missionary information. The Church was alive with interest, and vibrated to its remotest parts with his thrilling narrative of strange events. He boldly requested the children to supply £800, in order to replace the "Warree," which had now to be returned



REV. W. ANDERSON.

The first New Year's Children's Offering.

to its generous owner. The children surprised the Church by a New Year's offering (for 1849) of £3180!

In the summer of 1849, Waddell returned to Calabar in the mission ship, and took with him Mr. William C. Thomson, teacher, and a woman who has written her name on the heart of Old Calabar, Euphemia Miller, long known (after a married life of less than six months) as Mrs. or Mammy Sutherland, a rare soul, "divinely touched," who diffused the odour of the gospel wherever she went.

"Mammy" Sutherland.

For some time after the arrival of this missionary party the work progressed quietly and effectively. Some of the most cruel customs were being carefully watched; and although there was silence, conditions were being created favourable to decided and successful action when the hour for action arrived. Nor was it long in coming. On the 5th of February 1850 two of the Duke Town chiefs, Efiöng Bassey and Erem Cuffey, died. Human sacrifices were being offered as profusely as ever, though perhaps with more secrecy. Anderson heard that seven of Bassey's slaves and one of his wives had been offered; and that in Cuffey's household nine slaves had been strangled and buried with their master, whilst twelve or fourteen victims were in the yard bound by a large chain awaiting their death. Waddell was absent in Bonny, but Anderson threw himself into the breach with a persistency and determination which merited the victory which was achieved.

Sacrifice of slaves.

Anderson at once set out to the king, Archibong, who, on his appointment as Eyamba's successor, had promised to "be good friend" with Queen Victoria, and to "ring big bell in market-place every God day." He told the

king that white men would hold him responsible for the murders. The king was silent in respect to the charge, but promised there should be no more killing that day. Anderson followed up this partial success by calling upon Ephraim Duke, the brother of Cuffey, and frankly accusing him of murder. Then he visited the chief known as "Mr." Young, who at first pretended ignorance, but who, on finding that Anderson was not to be trifled with, said with some energy: "If God spare me, two years don't pass before this bad fashion break off; but we can't do things all in a day."

Anti-human Sacrifice Society formed.

But Anderson was not content with scaring the chiefs, nor with passing over these horrible enormities with an ineffective protest. He summoned all the captains in the river and workers in the mission. They requested the king and chiefs to meet them in the church palaver-house. This combined and energetic action led to results long prayed for. The king and chiefs agreed to pass a law that human sacrifices should be abolished, and that life should not be taken but for crime. Next day the friends of humanity met, and formed themselves into a "Society for the Suppression of Human Sacrifices in Old Calabar." Thereafter they visited Creek Town, and made a similar firm representation to Eyo and his chiefs, and intimated that all intercourse should cease unless the law abolishing sacrifices were passed within a month.

Law abolishing sacrifice passed.

The 15th February 1850 must always be a red-letter day in the calendar of Old Calabar. At four o'clock, when the law was passed, the mission flag was hoisted, the news was passed to the trading ships, on which flags were run up and guns fired in honour of the day on which the right of living was granted to the slaves.

It was not easy, however, to enforce the law in the villages around the two principal towns. The chiefs of Adiabo especially resisted the innovation, pleading that many of their old fathers and mothers were scandalised by the change, and that the law should not be enforced till they died off. Eyo told them that these old people should have died sooner; they should not have lived till the world changed. But the chiefs were not convinced by such logic. "If you have no will for the new fashion," said Eyo, "would you like to see a man-of-war go up your river to make you will?" When they still expostulated, Cameroons, a chief not without some humour, suggested that, as the law would be put in force within a week, they should not talk so much, but hurry home and despatch their revered fathers and mothers at once, so that they might enjoy the luxury of a burial after the old fashion. This atrocity shocked them; but Cameroons added with force: "Oh, very good, if you don't like to kill your own parents, why do you wish to kill those of others?"

The humour of Cameroons.

CHAPTER VI

FRESH STRUGGLES AND VICTORIES

During the next few years the mission made rapid strides. Superstition after superstition began to fade before the strong light of the gospel; and at last, when it was possible for converts to live in fidelity to Christ amidst the social conditions of the country, converts were granted, to the great joy of our missionaries.

Twin-mothers and twin-murder.

The abolition of human sacrifices marked an epoch in the history of Old Calabar. From that date life assumed a new value. It was soon found necessary, however, to follow up that victory with other struggles for the sanctity of human life. One brutal custom had caused much anxiety to the missionaries—that, namely, of expelling twin-mothers from town, and of murdering the twins. It was supposed that twins were monsters, who had no limbs, that their bodily senses were not like those of other children, and that to look on them or touch them meant to become like them. No free man would take a drink of water from such a monster mother. The fact that twins were put to death at their very birth, and consequently rarely ever seen by any one, helped to foster the belief in their monstrosities. Even mothers lost all their natural affection for their own offspring, and willingly pleaded for their death, or murdered them

themselves, at the same time that they accepted their own banishment as a just disgrace.

It was resolved to attack this barbarous usage with vigorous and decided action. A native woman in Old Town fled to the mission-house, and gave birth to twins. She was almost distracted with shame, and pleaded to be allowed to murder them. Mrs. Edgerley soothed her,

MRS. CRUICKSHANK. MISS HOGG.
TWIN-MOTHERS AND TWINS.

and tended the infants, and it was decided to stand by them at all hazards. Old Willy Tom Robins was in a fury. Anansa, the god of the town, who resided in the well at the bottom of the hill, would destroy the town. Every evil was threatened; but Mr. and Mrs. Edgerley refused to give up the children. At last Willy blew *Egbo* upon the mission, and retired to his farm.

The blowing of *Egbo* boycotted the school and mission. But public opinion was already changing. It was discovered that the times were ripe for this protest

against infanticide, and the prohibition was not respected. The twins became the objects of wonder. They actually had arms and legs like other children! They cried like others, and like others smiled! Cameroons went from Creek Town and saw them. Young Eyo visited them, and even took them in his arms! The school children from Creek Town and Duke Town made pilgrimages and presented offerings; and the belief in the monstrosity of twins was in this way shaken.

Soon after this a similar case occurred in Creek Town. It was feared lest Eyo, whilst encouraging such a reform in the town of a neighbour, should shrink from breaking the native custom in his own. To the relief of the missionaries, provision was made by him for the protection of mother and children, and Mrs. Waddell and Miss Miller shielded and guided the poor woman in the time of her distress. Such object-lessons in humaneness, for which the preaching had prepared the people, did much to prepare the people for the further preaching of the gospel of Jesus, which had so much to offer to women and to little children.

Substitutionary punishment.

The heathenism of Old Calabar was like the hydra which Hercules was commissioned to kill; so soon as one head of the monster was cut off, others appeared. It was not long till the subject of substitutionary punishment had to be considered. By the custom of Old Calabar, when a town offended against Egbo law, and was thereby judged guilty of treason, it was no uncommon occurrence to purchase a slave, and slay him publicly as a substitute for the town that was doomed. It was also a common practice to substitute a slave for a freeman when the latter was condemned to death. A case of this kind happened in 1849, and Mr. Waddell at once took action

in behalf of the rights of slaves. A freeman had stolen and sold one of the king's slaves—a crime which, according to Egbo law, is punished by death. But a freeman may escape by substituting a slave to "take his death and die." George Eyo, being a relative of the thief, gave one of his slaves as a substitutionary victim. The poor fellow was hurried along to execution, crying: "What have I done that my master sends me to die? He sends me to kill for nothing." The poor fellow's head was knocked off and publicly exhibited in Creek Town and Duke Town as a terror to evildoers.

Waddell's opportunity came in a curious way. The headless trunk of the victim was, according to custom, left unburied at the place of execution, in the vicinity of the mission premises. Mrs. Waddell demanded that the victim should be buried. This she could only accomplish by hiring men from George Eyo himself. After the interment was over, George came to Mr. Waddell, demanding payment for burying the slave whom he had murdered! Waddell paid him, and then lectured him, whilst he sat cowed and dumb. Under the lash of Waddell's invective, the culprit's conscience received such a chastisement as might have made him tremble to do the like again. Ultimately the vile law was broken through, and practically annulled, and thus another victory was secured.

But early in the year 1852 the mission cause at Duke Town suffered a severe strain at the death of Archibong.

Difficulties in Duke Town.

The work had never prospered so much here as in Creek Town, for the reason that its kings were less favourable to Christianity, and had not the universal respect of the freemen of the town. A meeting in the king's yard in Duke Town was not attended as a meeting in Eyo's; many of the

chiefs felt that their dignity was compromised by going to the house of a rival. Still, by the vigorous administration of Goldie and Anderson amidst many discouragements, the work of preaching and teaching soon began to tell.

Archibong kept by his superstitions to the end. His mother, Obuma, was beside him during his last illness, and stuck to her heathen superstition as obstinately as Jezebel to Baal. When Mr. Goldie visited him, the room was polluted with sacrifices; here a goat's head, there a leg, yonder another, and by his bedside a putrefying fowl, hanging to a stick on which it had been suspended when alive, as was the custom.

A king's deathbed.

When the king died, of course human sacrifices were forbidden; but by other means many were sent into eternity to accompany the king. Obuma at once set herself to discover the cause of the king's sickness. Four of the relatives were charged with *Ifŏt*, which they curiously enough termed "freemason in the belly." They had bewitched the king, and caused his death. These were at once subjected to the ordeal, which was to *chop-nut*, or drink the powdered esere-bean, on the supposition that, if guilty, they would retain it and die; if innocent, put it up and live. All died.

Ifŏt and chop-nut.

Obuma, having determined to be revenged on some of the leading families, summoned a number of armed men from the plantation. Several batches of women publicly drank the nut, and the majority of them died. Then Obuma accused an old lady of the Ephraim family, who boldly nominated Mr. Young to chop-nut with her. Mr. Young, who had often made others chop-nut, notwith-

Caught in their own snare.

standing his faith in the doctrine that it could never injure the innocent, quietly decamped to Creek Town. His brother, who helped to slaughter fifteen of Eyamba's wives, exhibited the same discretion. But the climax was reached when the blood-men whom Obuma had called in from the country demanded that she herself should chop-nut. The lady declined the trial, and, believing they would compel her, laid a train to a large number of barrels of gunpowder, determined to blow up herself and the town if they made the attempt. The Nemesis was complete. The wicked were snared in the pit which they themselves digged. Retribution had visited the chiefs themselves, and their faith in the trial by ordeal was broken when they found that public opinion demanded that freemen should get the same *justice* as slaves.

The early fifties were formative years in the history of the mission. The policy of the Church in strange and untried circumstances was being determined, and the Church was fortunate in having men so qualified for the task. Waddell with his zeal and spirituality, Goldie with his scholarly tastes and calm perseverance, Anderson with his courage and dash, made a strong triumvirate, and were excellently assisted by Edgerley, W. C. Thomson, and Miss Miller. Signs of progress soon appeared. When Eyo's house was burned down, and property to the value of some thousands of pounds destroyed, it was a distinct victory to the cause of Christ that no one was accused and no esere-nut employed to discover the culprit, as would inevitably have been the case but for the influence of the gospel upon the king. It was also significant that one of the school children saved Eyo's Bible, as being among the most precious of his treasures.

Signs of progress.

The activity in translating and printing continued unabated. Mr. Goldie wrote several schoolbooks, Mr. Anderson translated Jonah, Mr. Waddell wrote the Life of Joseph. An epitome of New Testament history was compiled, and these all entered the homes of the people as silent missionaries.

But in 1853 the first sheaves of the harvest were gathered from the three stations. The first convert, Esien Esien Ukpabio, who became also our first native teacher and our first native pastor, was baptized publicly in the king's yard at Creek Town by Mr. Goldie on the 16th October. Young Eyo, the king's son, was baptized on the 30th; and on that day the native Church began its history by these two converts sitting down at the Lord's table.

First converts.

At Duke Town, in the month following, two converts, and two children who had been redeemed from slavery, were baptized by Mr. Anderson; and even in Old Town, where "Satan's seat" was, the heart of good Mr. Edgerley was uplifted by the baptism of a youth called Edungikan, who took the name of Joseph Edgerley. Young men in all the stations were looking forward to making a profession of their faith, and the hearts of the missionaries, though cheered, were apprehensive, not knowing how their converts might adjust their lives to the social conditions under which they had to live. The tyranny of custom was still the binding force in society.

CHAPTER VII

IN CHRIST JESUS NEITHER BOND NOR FREE

THE fortunes of the mission in Old Town had for a long time been a cause of anxiety. Willy Tom was wedded to his foul superstitions, and in his last sickness displayed all the cunning and suspicion incidental to the savage. He put his sons and chiefs in prison, and subjected many to the ordeal of the esere-nut, on the charge of causing his sickness by *Iföt*, or witchcraft. On his death, in February 1854, his two eldest sons, five or six wives, and a large number of slaves, were shot, hanged, or poisoned, contrary to the law recently passed. Several people fled to the mission as to a sanctuary, and were rescued. One woman, who had been saved a year before, when she was to have been presented as an offering to Egbo by having her jaws cut open from ear to ear, and by having other enormities perpetrated upon her, was rescued once again, on the banks of the Quö river, by Mr. Edgerley. She had had a ghastly experience. She had seen her husband shot and his head cut off, had passed eighteen headless trunks in her flight through the woods, and finally had had to swim for her life.

Cruelties at Willy Tom's death.

In the midst of such trouble the work of Christ could not prosper. Mr. Edgerley was laid down with

fever, and delirious with excitement. Mrs. Edgerley and Mr. Thomson fought against the horrid cruelties, but in vain. All they could do was to report the breach of the law to the Duke Town authorities, and await results. Not long after this a British gunboat appeared upon the scene, and blew up the town for breaking the law against human sacrifice, and forbade the rebuilding of it.

Natives suffering for the gospel.

But whilst these strange scenes, which we can only touch upon, were being enacted at Old Town, Creek Town was passing through a crisis of a different kind. Five young men had been baptized on the 5th of March, all of them slaves of King Eyo. These young fellows, together with the other converts, were subjected to much persecution, and were called to account before the king on the charge of disobedience. One of them had been ordered to *lace*, or torture, a thief in order to extort a confession from her, but had declined. Others had refused to work upon the Sabbath. Eyo lectured them hotly before a large audience, professed his interest in the new religion, but was irritated and chagrined that his slaves should be in Christ before him. The audience soon took up the fight. Enau, one of the chiefs, on hearing young Eyo declare that no one could do the converts any real harm, shouted, "What! can I not do what I like with such contemptible little slaves?" "No," cried young Eyo. Then Nameti, one of the newly baptized, added: "Here I stand, and by the grace of God I shall abide by my profession. Light your fires and burn me if you like." Another chief cried to Esien, the king's second son: "Let these fellows and young Eyo go over to the white men —remain you on our side." The reply of Esien was

noble. "What!" he said, "shall I see life and choose death?"

When some taunted Ukpabio and the others that they were only slaves, this first of our converts replied:

Ukpabio.

"True; but surely you have heard of Joseph, who was a slave in Egypt, as I am here this day." When Eyo ordered the sympathisers with the new cause to leave his yard, he was surprised to see that all his house boys, with the exception of one, rose to go. "Ha! ha!" cried some of the chiefs, on observing a big ignorant slave among them, "what a fine God's man you'll be, that can't read a line!" "But I can learn," said Efanga. Then Eyo came to himself, and interposed with the words: "It is not necessary that a man be able to read in order to his being a God's man; people may learn by hearing as well as by reading."

Had Eyo been an ignorant man and unjust, his anger might have driven some of these youths to death. They had the martyr's spirit; he lacked the cruel spirit of the persecutor. But although no blood was shed, the noble stand which these few young Christians took gave Christianity a firmer and higher position in Calabar. That even Eyo respected them for their courage, is witnessed by the fact that, not long after this, when he was at one of his farms, he kept the Sabbath sacred, and asked Ukpabio to read to him and his people the word of God.

In the year 1854 no fewer than thirteen young men and two young women were admitted into the fellowship of the Church. Several of these were persons of good position and members of influential families. Twenty-three others were preparing for admission. But the position taken by many of them excited opposition and hatred, for old

Fifteen converts.

customs were being shaken and new habits were being formed.

The relation of the Christian to the conditions of Calabarese society had to be defined. And, seeing that freemen were now among the converts, the question was raised—Can slaveholders be admitted into the fellowship of the Church? The matter was keenly canvassed and carefully weighed, in view of the future of the native Church. Those freemen who had been admitted had signed articles affecting their relations to their slaves, so that the hands of the Church might be clean, but as the question inevitably arose in each of the stations, a deliverance was demanded.

Can slaveholders be Church members.

The case was very complicated. Calabarese society was divided into two classes—slaveholders and slaves. There was not such a thing known as a free labouring class. The slaveholders or freemen were about one to every twenty slaves. Every owner had absolute power over his slave, but it was considered disreputable to sell a slave for anything but crime. To manumit a slave was also unknown to Calabar law. Once a slave, always a slave. Not only so, but, supposing a master put away a worthless slave, he would still be held responsible for every crime or misdeed the slave committed. This was property of which he could not divest himself. It was rarely that an owner sold his slave out of the country, and only for very serious crime. The only way to get rid of superfluous slaves was by death; and this was not unfrequently resorted to on very slender pretexts.

Under Calabarese law a free servant had no place. Two kinds of law existed. There was *Egbo* law. Egbo is a secret society or combination, initiation into which

is purchased at a large cost (about £100), the members of which form a kind of polyarchy. This society passes and enforces the laws of the country. But Egbo law is for the benefit of its own members only. If a freeman who is not in Egbo wishes his case considered, he must hire an Egbo man at an exorbitant sum; or, as is frequently done, sell himself to some rich member, whose protection he will thus secure.

The other form of law is patriarchal. The freeman is absolute master of his household. Wife, children, slaves may be disposed of as he likes. Now, if a slave were set free, he would be under no law. Egbo could not take account of him. No master would be responsible for him. Emancipation, then, meant to throw men and women upon society without protection. In Calabar it would have been, therefore, a great calamity for two reasons. First, there was no opportunity for a liberated slave to hire his labour and support himself; and, secondly, he had no rights to protection under any form of law. This being the case, and the Church not being able at once to change society and its customs, if members were to be added to the Church, it was necessary to adjust the relations of the freeman to his slave in such a way as not to injure the slave nor prevent the freeman from enjoying his inheritance in Christ.

Emancipation inexpedient.

For these reasons it was resolved to ask every owner of slaves to sign the following declaration on being admitted into the fellowship of the Church: "Believing that all men are equal in the sight of God, and that, under the gospel, there is in Christ Jesus neither bond nor free, I hereby, as a servant of Christ, bound to obey the commands of God's word, promise, in the sight of the

Declaration by Christian slaveowners.

great God, my divine Master, that I shall regard those persons placed under my care, and formerly held by me as slaves, as *servants* and not as *property;* that I shall give them what is just and equal for their work; that I shall encourage them to obtain education for themselves and their children, and to attend on such means of religious instruction as the Church may be able to afford them; that I shall dispose of none of them for the mere purposes of gain; that I shall do so only in the case of those who, being chargeable with criminal offences, would be liable to be put to death were they to remain in Calabar, and who can be legally banished in no other way; that I shall endeavour as far as I can to secure the making of laws to promote personal freedom; that, as soon as it can be done, I shall legally set free all those under my care; and that, in the meantime, I shall treat them with kindness and equity, it being my constant aim to act upon the command of the Lord Jesus Christ, to do unto others as I would wish them to do unto me."

CHAPTER VIII

FRESH FIELDS AND NEW WORKERS

New workers began now to appear upon the scene, and new fields of labour to be broken up. In March 1854, Mr. Alexander Sutherland joined the mission as a teacher in Duke Town. In the following year he married Miss Miller, and, after the British Government gave permission to rebuild Old Town, these two devoted souls undertook to re-establish the cause of Christ in that place. Mr. Sutherland died a few months after (April 1856), but Mrs. Sutherland continued for about seven years in Old Town, preaching and teaching and organising with much energy and success, till her transference to Duke Town, with which her memory is tenderly associated.

MRS. SUTHERLAND.

In 1855 there arrived Mr. John Wylie, teacher, who remained but a year; Dr. Hewan, a medical missionary, who remained eleven years; also Miss E. Johnstone and Miss Barty. The work now went on apace, and was

again blessed with a taste of persecution. This time it was in Duke Town. In November, a son of Oko Odiong had died, and, as usual, friends were suspected of *Iföt*, or witchcraft. A half-brother, a half-sister, and an aunt were doomed to undergo the ordeal of the esere-nut. They fled for safety to the mission-house, and Mr. Anderson declined to give them up. Duke Ephraim summoned hundreds of the blood-men, and surrounded the mission. Anderson, however, would not be intimidated, and took means to transfer the refugees to one of the ships in the river. Egbo was blown on the mission, which cut off the mission from all social intercourse, from marketing, and preaching. The right of the mission to its property was questioned, and threats of destruction were freely uttered.

Esere-nut in Duke Town.

After much anxiety and hardship, Anderson summoned the consul from Fernando Po, who adjudicated upon the subject, and strongly condemned the ordeal. The results of the consul's interference were favourable to the mission. The validity of the Church's tenure of the mission property was established; the mission was no more to be put under the boycott of Egbo; and the premises were publicly advertised as a sanctuary to refugees who were not guilty of any crime.

The time for extension had now arrived. After some exploring, it was arranged to open a new station at Ikoneto, a small town about twenty-five miles up the river from Creek Town. This was a delicate matter to arrange, on account of the jealousy of the towns in which the mission already existed. There was jealousy lest these up-river villages should begin to trade with the white men after learning to read and write, and a fear lest the missionary should lead the way to white men who might wish to

Ikoneto.

possess the land. Matters, however, were soon adjusted, and Mr. and Mrs. Goldie, along with Miss E. Johnstone, opened the station in July 1856. The success of the work was almost immediate. Soon ninety children attended school. The people, who were for the most part engaged in farming, were attentive to the gospel, gave up twin murder and human sacrifices, and showed more tractableness of disposition than those further down the river. A church was built of native material in 1857, a year after the station was opened. The people began to dress decently; and so fond of long gowns did the women become, that when it was found that some of those of lower rank displayed them too ostentatiously of a Sabbath, to the annoyance and chagrin of those of higher rank who had none, a sumptuary law was passed that none but ladies of the highest rank should wear long gowns. The poor were condemned to short ones.

Zerub Baillie.

The arrival of the Rev. Zerub Baillie in 1856 did much to brighten the prospects of the mission. His knowledge of medicine, his buoyancy of nature, and his untiring zeal seemed to mark him out for pioneering work up the river. Shortly after his arrival, another of the first missionaries, the Rev. Samuel Edgerley, senior, died, after a laborious life of teaching, printing, and preaching. But other labourers thrust in their sickles. Mr. Samuel Edgerley, junior, and Mr. William Timson began to teach in Creek Town, whilst Jamaica contributed another of its best workers to Calabar, in the person of the Rev. Alexander Robb of Goshen, who gave to Africa seventeen years of fruitful service.

But another important change took place in the year of Mr. Robb's arrival (1858). After sixteen years of arduous labour in Jamaica, and twelve years of pioneer

work in Africa, the Rev. H. M. Waddell was compelled by the state of his health to withdraw from Old Calabar. He was the founder of the mission, and during these years, by his statesmanlike sagacity and philanthropic purpose, he shaped the destiny of our African mission at a time when mission work in Africa was little known. His book on *Twenty-nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa* is a worthy monument of his indefatigable labour—a brilliant and first-hand record of his interesting experiences in Old Calabar, which will take its place beside the works of Livingstone, Moffat, and Stanley.

Mr. Waddell retires.

Mr. Waddell had the rare pleasure of seeing the work of his hands established. The membership of the church at Creek Town had increased to twenty-one, with twenty-four catechumens. These were all bound to him with filial affection, and on his departure sent with him a gift of £71 to the home Church, the first contribution which Calabar ever sent for the Lord's sake and for the Lord's work. His converts and friends bade him adieu at the steamer, from which Waddell spoke his last words of farewell. "Now we are off! Farewell, Calabar! We leave you without shame for the past, and without fear for the future. We thank God that He counted us worthy to send us with His gospel here, and that He sent us not in vain. To His name be the glory!"

Mr. Goldie now took charge of Creek Town, and Mr. Thomson of Ikoneto, whilst Mr. Zerub Baillie left Duke Town and pressed on to found the new station at Ikörófiöng. Here, at the close of 1858, he received a most gratifying reception from the chiefs. A site was cheerfully given, on a hill over-

Ikörófiöng.

looking the town. It commanded a view of about eight miles of the river, of a wide territory covered with forest, and, in clear weather, of the blue mountains in the far distance. The people at once began to cut down the bush, to level the ground, to clear a road to the town, and a road to the well, and showed great eagerness to learn to read, as well as much devoutness at times of worship.

Here Zerub Baillie laboured with rare energy, and was joined by his brother John in 1861. Soon Ikörófiöng formed an important centre, from which the light radiated upon the surrounding villages. The Baillies plied upon the river with their boat, carrying the gospel wherever they went, and establishing such friendly relations with the natives, as did much to smooth the path of the workers who succeeded them.

CHAPTER IX

AN INTERLUDE—GLIMPSES OF CALABARESE LIFE

When we speak of a king in Old Calabar, it is only an accommodation of that august title. In the Egbo fraternity he is only one of their high officers. He is a convenient medium through which to conduct the intercourse with foreigners in trading. His election is to a large extent influenced by the traders. He, of course, assumes many of the innocent airs of what he considers royalty, and if he be a good man his power for good is great.

Kings.

EKPRI ABANA VILLAGE.

The towns over which the kings preside are not populous. Duke Town has about 6000 inhabitants, and is the Glasgow of Old Calabar. Creek Town is smaller, but it claims to be the Edinburgh. The towns are miniature republics, bound in a sort of rude federation by Egbo, which secures for the freemen who are members of the fraternity more

Towns.

than their freedom, and which, with its mysteries and inexorable cruelties, keeps the slaves in abeyance.

Family life is of the patriarchal order. The freeman is absolute master of his household. His slaves are "things," or property; so too his wives, and sons and daughters. He finds it difficult to keep his house in order, and hence resorts to terror. Where marriage has taken place, dissolution of marriage is easily obtained. Polygamy prevails, and girls are gifted to influential friends, so that it is sometimes difficult for young men of humbler position to find suitable wives. Involuntary spinsters are unknown.

Family life.

The relation of slave and master is much mitigated by custom. They are of the same race. Their children play together and sit together at school. There is not the hostility between white and black which exists, for instance, in the West Indies. The slave may own property, may even possess slaves and grow rich. He is subject, however, to be called upon to work for his master at the master's pleasure. Sometimes he is treated with great cruelty. Sand-papering the lips with a rough leaf, used for polishing furniture, was the punishment of one for speaking unadvisedly. A runaway woman was compelled to run up and down the street for a whole day. Those who harboured secrets had holes bored in their ears with hot irons to make them divulge. Pepper thrown into the eyes, cutting off one ear or both, breaking legs, and binding arms with tight cords, were some of the refinements of the punitive art in which the savage mind displayed its marvellous ingenuity.

Other arts were not so assiduously cultivated. When the missionaries introduced flowers into the mission garden, they were laughed at for bringing more weeds into Calabar, as if there were not already enough, and

of sufficient variety. The Calabarese music consisted of a low monotonous murmur or wail. Expressions of joy could not be given by voice; but in the dance the feet atoned for this defect. Their carving and pottery were of a very rude description, but the women were somewhat adept in decoration. They spent much time in ornamenting with pleasing designs the banks of beaten earth which formed the seats round the interior of their houses. The art of dress was foreign to Calabar. Some savages dress in the skins of animals, the Calabarese were

Arts in general.

NATIVES.

content with their own. But when they learned from us to clothe themselves, they far outstripped us in variety of combination and colour. The vanity of the men often exceeded that of the women, probably because their opportunities of gratifying it were greater. It was no uncommon thing to see a chief, arrayed in a green satin hat, a waistcoat, a fathom of Manchester cloth around him like a petticoat, and profuse bracelets on his wrists, airing his grandeur barefooted under a large coloured umbrella.

The natives are hospitable and courteous, seldom insult a white man, and never lay hands of violence upon

him. The kings give sumptuous dinners, and willingly accept invitations in return. If they cannot be present, they respect your hospitable feelings by sending a slave for the dinner which they were prevented from partaking of at your table.

Native courtesy.

The Calabarese are keen traders and good farmers. They bring the palm oil from the interior, and dispose of it to our traders, whose vessels lie in the river opposite Duke Town, and whose warehouses are now on the beach. They do not display any liking for continuous labour at handicrafts, though there are a few smiths and weavers. There are no masons, because there are no stones.

Trades.

They have no beasts of burden. The horse is known as the white man's cow. The goat supplies animal food. There is little or no pasture land. Mangrove trees line the river banks for miles, as far as the tide flows. There are some elevations, but no hills until you go far into the interior. Every town has its farms, where yams, bananas, and plantains are grown for food.

Peculiarities.

The religious ideas of the people are very crude. They have a dim conception of a supreme Being, whom they called Abasi. Their belief in spirits, or shadows, is great, but the spirits are all malevolent. *Idems* reside in trees, and in the river, and sacrifices are made to them. In the corner of the yard is a small mound of clay, called *Iso Ëkpo*, upon which the head of the household offers the goat or the fowl as a sacrifice to the shadow of his ancestor.

Religious ideas.

The country is now under British protection, as the Niger Coast Protectorate, and the resident consul, Sir Claude MacDonald, displays much helpful sympathy towards the mission.

CHAPTER X

IN THE SHADOW

Mr. Waddell's withdrawal from the mission marks an epoch in its history. The clearing and quarrying work had, to a large extent, been accomplished, the lines of the building had been determined, and the foundation laid. The quieter work of building stone upon stone in the rearing of the Calabarese Church had now to be undertaken. Many of the grosser forms of superstition had received their death-blow, and were dead or dying, and the general principles of Christianity had been vindicated, amidst scenes thrilling with incident. But these victories had to be followed up and secured by the patient routine of teaching, preaching, and evangelising, which, although they may not yield so much material for the pen of the chronicler, are not less important nor less heroic.

Quiet times.

A few months after Mr. Waddell's departure, Eyo Honesty died. He will always remain as a landmark in the history of Calabar. He gave the first welcome to the mission band, and, for the most part, aided the mission till death withdrew him from the scene. Although he never identified himself with the cause which he did much to favour, yet by his tact, prudence, common sense, and charitableness

Death of Eyo.

he allowed Christianity to make for itself a place in Creek Town which it has never lost. His sympathies were with the truth. The Sabbath before his death he was lying in his bed with Brown's Bible before him, diligently searching the Scriptures. Ever since the time when he threatened to persecute the young Christians he had given them full liberty; and so much did he respect their conscience, that, if he wished to offer a visitor a glass of rum, he would not call one of his Christian attendants to serve, but one who had no scruples.

When Eyo died, on 3rd December 1858, a striking testimony was borne to the success of the mission. There was not a drop of blood shed. Many of the slaves took to flight; but his Christian retainers remained, and, without fear, performed the last offices to the dead. His sons refrained from the old customs, and declined even to take the *Mbiam*, or blood-oath, which is resorted to for mutual safety, and took instead of this, and to the satisfaction of all, an oath upon the Bible. Only twelve years before this, the death of a king would have implied the slaughter of hundreds.

New church at Duke Town.

Whilst Creek Town thus manifested the power of Christ, Duke Town, which had not hitherto been favoured with such regal wisdom, displayed also a gratifying advance. In September of the same year a new church was opened, which had been built entirely of native material, and at the expense of the natives. The building was characterised by simplicity, its cost being only about £40; but this first exercise in generosity argued that the gospel had laid hold of the hearts of many who, a few years before, were steeped in fear and superstition.

But the Duke Town authorities took a decided step

in advance when Archibong II. was elected king in the following year. For a long time the Sabbath market had been a great hindrance to the gospel. He signalised his *coronation* by abolishing it — an enactment which cheered the missionaries and facilitated their work.

Abolition of Sabbath market in Duke Town.

This, however, was the concession of a reform which had been often urged, and with which the natives had become familiar; but as each native custom was first encroached upon, the old-time party winced and remonstrated. The right of women to wear modest apparel was contested for several years. Christian women, when they desired to dress becomingly, were forbidden to put on gowns. This sumptuary law, which had been passed by the chiefs, was the result of feminine jealousy. The Christian women were generally slaves, and the wives of the chiefs could not tolerate being outrun in the race of fashion by their inferiors. But the Christian women determined to defy the law, and did appear in gowns. All the terrors of Egbo were "blown" upon the transgressors, and severe penalties were threatened. But the women still persisted, believing that the propriety of their action would render it a violation of public sentiment to punish them. After two years of contention, women were freed from compulsory semi-nakedness, and won the right of clothing themselves according to the dictates of modesty.

Women's rights.

The death of Eyo Honesty, known as Eyo Honesty II., had occurred in December 1858. Two and a half years afterwards, Eyo III. passed away. He was long known as young Eyo, and had begun his career with great promise. But the temptations of his position were too great for him, and

Death of young Eyo.

he became a backslider. Yet it is an indication of the power the gospel had over him, that an enlightened conscience brought him to repentance. Before he died, he committed his children to the care of the missionaries, who had been the light and guide of his happy boyhood.

The tendency to fall back to heathenism spasmodically asserted itself. The body of Eyo III. was laid in a large box, filled with watches, plate, etc., and that box was put into another, which was decorated with feathers, ribbons, and looking-glasses. About two hundred women moved around the boxes, wailing over them and fanning them. Every newcomer threw herself down in the mud, and cried *Ete mi O!* (O my father!)

But the occasion brought out in an interesting way the influence which the gospel was exerting upon society in Calabar. Although slavery was not directly attacked by the missionaries, it being in the warp and woof of Calabarese society, yet the doctrine of the equal rights of man began to tell. The farm slaves poured into the town, and demanded that the ordeal should be applied to the suspected. To make such a proposal was hitherto regarded as the prerogative of freemen; but the slaves took the initiative, and singled out two, who on former occasions had distinguished themselves by their cruelty. These were Egbo Eyo, the king's uncle, and Inyang, the king's half-sister.

Trial demanded by slaves.

The story of the trial, as told by Mr. Timson, who was then in charge, is of thrilling interest. Mr. Timson did all he could to save the victims, but Nemesis had come to the cruel. Egbo apparently knew he must die, for he killed one of his wives before he left his home, that she might be waiting for him in the land of shadows

One of his slaves suffered with him. The prineipal proof of guilt lay in this slave's confession, that Egbo and he had put a spear into a pot, and ealled upon the spirit of Eyo the king to enter that vessel! The king had died by witehcraft!

On the morning after Egbo suffered, Inyang was aeeused. Her own sister Ansa ealled upon her to take the bean, and was determined to hunt her to death. The slaves gave no heed to Inyang's remonstranees and threats. At last she consented to take the esere-nut, provided that all her share of her father's property would be buried with her, so that her sister Ansa might not put a finger upon it. In a few hours she was a eorpse.

These proeeedings at Creek Town had their influence on Duke Town. The vested rights of murder were now being attaeked by the slaves themselves. Anderson had pointed the moral of the Creek Town events—the slayer had been slain. Archibong and his ehiefs resented this, and threatened Anderson with violenee if he would assert that the killing of slaves was murder, and by way of retaliation subjeeted several slaves to death by means of the still legal processes of substitutionary punishment and ordeal. But in spite of this Anderson held on his way, assured that these eruel eustoms were doomed so soon as the chiefs and freemen themselves had a taste of their cruelty.

Influence on Duke Town.

Meanwhile the work was being vigorously prosecuted in the newer stations. Zerub Baillie was laying the foundation of a strong ehureh at Ikŏröfiŏng, and, with the assistance of his brother John, was planting out-stations in the surrounding Ibibio villages. Zerub and his wife, and John, so

The Baillies at Ikŏröfiŏng.

happily associated in their labours, had a pathetic history. Their work here promised great results. The natives were taught to make bricks; and in 1863 Zerub built a house, and in 1864 a neat little church, which became the architectural wonder of the neighbourhood. An Ibibio chief at Oku, three or four miles from Ikörófiöng, built a church of native construction at his own expense — a new departure among the blacks, who usually do nothing for nothing. On the first Sabbath of 1864, the mission party, together with the first three converts, sat down at the Lord's table, and a church was thus founded.

MISSION HOUSE, IKÖRÓFIÖNG.

But blow after blow fell upon this happy family. In 1862, Mrs. Baillie passed away. "Look forward," she said to Zerub, "and come on, and be sure and bring Willie with you, and as many people as you can." When Zerub told her he could give her unreservedly to God, she said, "Thank you for these words: I am now happy." Her last message breathed the true love for missions: "Nothing would be more unjust than to attribute my death to the climate."

Willie, their little child, followed two weeks after. John sickened, and came home, to die in Edinburgh in 1864, in his thirtieth year. Zerub held on, and worked with great purpose till 1865, when he also returned from Old Calabar. He had to be lifted out of the vessel at Liverpool, and never reached his native Scotland. Friends hurried to his bedside, for he was a loveable man and greatly beloved. Dr. Hewan, a kindred spirit, who was home

Death of John and Zerub Baillie.

to recruit after valiant service in the same field, came from Paris to be with him. Throwing his arms around Hewan's neck, when he felt the pangs of death getting hold upon him, he cried, "O doctor, doctor, the last scene is now to be finished between you and me. O Africa, Africa, I have wished to spend and be spent for thee. It is a big work there. You know my plans. I told them to you. You can tell them what they are. Could you not go and carry them out? It is a big work there—a big work."

REV. ZERUB BAILLIE.

The work at Ikoneto and Old Town showed remarkable signs of progress. At the former station, Mr. Timson and Asuquö Ekanem, a native teacher, and afterwards an ordained minister, visited the farms in regular rotation, and familiarised the native mind with gospel truths. At the latter station, Mrs. Sutherland laboured with much acceptance till 1863, when she was transferred to Duke Town. Her successor, the Rev. S. H. Edgerley, was happy in witnessing the results of her years of patient Christian instruction. Ekpenyöng Etïm, the king, died in 1864; but what a change from the time when his predecessor, Willy Tom Robins, died! No blood was shed; the blood-men, who wished to apply the esere-nut to Etïm's wives, were resisted by the chiefs, and the usual accompaniments of death were absent. There is no doubt that Etïm was under the influence of the truth. Not long before his death he refused to allow an Egbo celebration on the Sabbath;

Mrs. Sutherland at Old Town.

and when fined £60 for this insult to Egbo, he paid it without in the least reflecting upon the mission, in whose interest he made the sacrifice.

But the customs associated with death were gradually undergoing change wherever the light was penetrating. Women were snapping the links in the chain of fashion which bound them. It was the unwritten law of the country that the widows of chiefs should mourn until their husbands' Ikpo, or devil-making, was celebrated. The husband was supposed only to be sick till these funeral ceremonies were engaged in, and sometimes they were delayed for a year, sometimes for two or three years. During this time the widows were never allowed to appear in public, nor to wash, and often suffered not only from want of cleanliness, but from want of food. Christianity was silently leavening society. These women began to realise their grievances, and in 1868, both at Duke Town and Creek Town, the widows began to rebel, and some of them boldly broke through Calabarese custom and washed themselves! This assertion of rights filled the towns with consternation, but in Creek Town the reasonableness of their demand appealed to one of the clans. In the Eyo clan orders were given for the liberation of all widows, and immediately there was a stampede of forty-one widows towards the river, into which they plunged, and enjoyed the long-denied luxury of a bath.

Grievances of widows.

In this work of breaking up old customs there is no doubt the perusal of the Scriptures was playing an important part. Large portions had for some time been in circulation among the natives. In the year 1862 the New Testament was put through the press by Mr. Goldie. Six

Influence of the Bible.

years afterwards, the results of eight years of toil were produced in the printing of the Old Testament, and the first part of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, by the Rev. Alexander Robb, D.D. He conferred an inestimable blessing upon Old Calabar by his scholarly translations, for the printing of the Bible in the language of a people is the sending of many missionaries to appeal to a people's heart.

DR. ROBB.

But the shadows again came over the mission. Broken health compelled Dr. Hewan to resign in 1866, after eleven years of faithful and energetic service, and Rev. W. C. Thomson quitted the field in 1867, having spent eighteen years of his life as teacher and preacher. But the year 1870 brought the mission into deeper shadow. After twelve years' devoted labour, Mr. Timson died of pleurisy, at Ikoneto, in June. In August, Mr. Lewis expired at Old Town. His wife and child, who went out to join him, arrived a few days after his death, saw his grave, and returned. In December, the Rev. John Granger, who had only been a few months in the country, passed away at Ikoneto, where he had filled the breach caused by the death of Mr. Timson. These events cast a gloom over the workers in Old Calabar, but the work went on; whether men sleep or wake, the seed grows.

Sickness and death.

CHAPTER XI

LIGHTS AND SHADOWS

The losses of 1870 created a crisis in the history of the mission. The Church staggered under the repeated blows. The lack of volunteers crippled the work which had been so much blessed. Men were wanted—everything was awaiting them. A new house in Ikoneto had scarcely been tenanted. That at Old Town was similarly circumstanced. One of the houses in Duke Town stood vacant. The fields were ripe unto harvest, bearing the precious fruits of seed sown by labourers whom sickness or death had called away. Yet during ten years the home Church had only furnished one ordained missionary, one medical missionary, and two teachers. Whilst in 1864 there were eight ordained missionaries in the field, there were now only four; and these had all been labouring for periods of between twelve and twenty-four years—Mr. Goldie and Mr. Edgerley at Creek Town, Mr. Anderson at Duke Town, and Dr. Robb at Ikörófiöng. These, with Mr. Lawson, who won the hearts of the children at Ikörófiöng, and Mr. Ashworth, who laboured so devotedly at teaching and temperance work in Creek Town, composed the male staff of European agents. The consequence was that the burden of work pressed too heavily upon the workers.

The labourers are few.

Yet the work was not unblessed. Indeed, the Calabar mission might be pointed to as one of the triumphs of missionary enterprise. Cruel superstitions had one by one disappeared before the forces of Christian truth, the social life of the people had been considerably elevated and sweetened, whilst many had passed from death into life through faith in Jesus Christ. The progress which the mission had made within twenty-four years of its existence was marvellous, considering the heathenism of the people and the sufferings of the missionaries. There were now five principal stations and fifteen out-stations, with a membership of one hundred and ten. At four stations over seven hundred people attended divine service, and at two stations there were forty-five candidates. There were twelve day schools and over four hundred scholars.

The harvest great.

In this work our European ladies took a noble share. By their devotedness, courage, and physical endurance, some of them left the stamp of their character upon the native Church. The wives of the missionaries, and such female teachers as Miss E. Johnstone, Mrs. Sutherland, Mrs. Timson, Miss Edgerley, and Miss Diboll (afterwards Mrs. Swan), lived a life of quiet and humble heroism, performing ministrations which shall only find a record in the book of life.

Another feature of the mission which was full of promise was the extent to which native help was being developed and utilised. There were in this year (1870) fifteen agents at work. A few years before this, these teachers were all either slaves or half-free, and steeped in heathenism; but now their irreproachable and useful lives were a daily testimony to their fellow-countrymen of the power of Christ. Mr. Goldie could even at that

time say that "fully the half of the work of the mission is now done by our native agents, at the cost of little more than the salary of one European."

Death of Mr. Ashworth.

Mr. Ashworth's death on August 8, 1871, the first anniversary of the death of Mr. Lewis, intensified the crisis to which the recent losses had brought the band of workers. There is a touch of pathos in the thought of this ardent spirit lying upon his deathbed singing himself into heaven. Dr. Robertson tells us that his last song was, "Who is this that comes from Edom?" He reached the end of the second verse—

> "Jesus now is strong to save,
> Mighty to redeem the slave,"

when he raised himself, and exclaimed, "O yes! we have a great Saviour! Blessed Jesus!" Then his voice joined another choir.

The climatic difficulty.

The recurrence of death in Old Calabar induced many to consider the question of the selection of agents, and of facilities for recruiting in cases of sickness. Three answers were given. A Dr. J. W. Healy, from America, undertook to overcome the climatic difficulty, by educating in American colleges eighty young men, negroes of the Southern States, to be sent as missionaries to their brethren in Africa. This brilliant idea dazzled the imagination and opened the purses of the Church, but it soon vanished, leaving little else than unpleasant recollections.

George Thomson's sanatorium.

Another answer was proposed. The hardships of our brethren in Old Calabar revealed the heroism latent in the bosom of our Church, in the courageous proposal of Mr. George Thomson, who has given romance to the history of this mission by his self-sacrifice and daring. Mr. Thomson

had long cherished the hope that, at no great distance from Old Calabar, a sanatorium might be formed, to which our agents might repair for health and rest, and have a chance of recruiting, without the long journey home, which they naturally hesitated to undertake except in cases of grave danger. Mr. Thomson, who left his business as an architect in Glasgow, set out for Old Calabar, swept along the coast, explored the rivers, roamed through the country, ascended the mountains. He believed he had found the object of his heroic endeavours in the Cameroon mountains, and for several years, with enthusiastic perseverance, he gave himself to the furtherance of his philanthropic scheme. His efforts for the regeneration of Africa were, however, frustrated by the mysterious hand of death. In 1878 he passed away. Though his dream was not realised, his unselfish quest has given inspiration to many of Christ's servants, and his life has added a romantic chapter to the history of the conquest of the Dark Continent.

Third and better solution.

But the careful observation of facts connected with the history of the mission suggested two things in the line of the solution of the climatic difficulty. First, that the principal agents should be recruited as much as possible from brethren who had been for some time resident in Jamaica; and, second, that instead of aiming at sending a half-educated negro ministry from the West Indies, or from the Southern States, a native Efik ministry should be reared from the converts in Old Calabar.

Dr. Robb's statement of facts.

Dr. Robb, who gave this matter much attention, brought forward these suggestive facts—that there had been connected with the Calabar mission nineteen persons who had previously been domiciled in the tropics, only three of

whom had died; and that of fifteen who came direct from Europe, ten had died, the surviving five being females. These facts are certainly startling; but the undetermined point is, how far the workers have succumbed to climatic influences, and how far to the strain of work which the Church has laid upon them, by keeping the field constantly under-manned. The probability is that residence in Old Calabar would not prove so fatal, if each station were equipped in such a way as to render the amount of work expected suitable to the exigencies of the climate. The Church should be more generous in her provision, and less exacting in her demands.

And again, from the fact that several native converts were proving to be zealous and efficient teachers, it was justly argued that, after a few years, this system of employing Calabarese agents might be indefinitely extended, and would prove preferable to the importation from Jamaica of half-educated negroes, who did not know the Efik language. This supposition has proved correct, for now the native ministry is full of promise, and not without signs of development.

The work at the various stations, though crippled, was not without some cheering signs. In 1873, Mr. Lawson (now minister in Edenshead), to his own regret and to the sorrow of Ikörófiöng, withdrew disabled from the field, and returned home along with Dr. Robb, whose health greatly needed recruiting. Ikörófiöng was left without a European agent for about a year; yet the native agents and the six native converts were faithful, and "adorned the doctrine." A severe epidemic of smallpox broke out, and terror reigned throughout the district. Miss E. Johnstone (sister of Mrs. Goldie),

Cheering signs.

stepped fearlessly into the fever-stricken village, and even defied the laws of Egbo, which augmented the disease by forbidding the burial of the dead. After teaching them how to vaccinate, and seeing the epidemic decrease, she returned to Old Town, to die a short time after (June 1873). Miss Mary Johnstone, now the last remaining of three noble sisters, whose names will ever be associated with the Christianisation of Old Calabar, offered herself for service soon after, and went out to help in the work of the Lord.

Other workers appeared upon the scene. Mr. Beedie went with Dr. Robb to Ikörófiöng, Mr. Thomas Campbell went to Creek Town, Mr. Alexander Morton to Duke Town, all as teachers. Then, after the resignation of Dr. Robb and the Rev. Dugald Campbell on account of ill health, there arrived upon the field, in 1875, the Rev. Alexander Ross and Mr. James Swan, and in 1876 Miss Slessor, whose name has been and is so memorably associated with the station at Ökóyöng, which she started in 1888.

New workers.

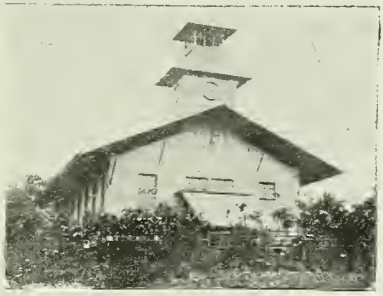
A period of remarkable activity set in. The work of exploration was vigorously taken up, with the hope of extending the mission. Waddell, Goldie, Robb, and especially Samuel H. Edgerley, had done much in exploring the surrounding country. Thomas W. Campbell broke up the region around the Oban hills, the Quö river, and the Calabar river. Mr. Ross with great energy penetrated among the tribes in Efut. The hope of occupying these places inspired the courage of the brethren ; but though Ethiopia stretched out her hands, the Church was not prepared to send out the messengers.

Death again visited the brethren. In 1879, Mr. Alexander Morton passed away, after a career which was brief but full of promise. He had been married

only a few months to Miss Timson, who returned home, leaving behind her, awaiting the resurrection, her father and mother, who sleep side by side at Ikoneto, and her husband at Duke Town. That same year Mr. Thomas W. Campbell resigned in broken health, and repaired to Queensland, where he died shortly afterwards.

But the remaining workers were full of hope, and received much encouragement from the progress which took place in the church and in the social condition of the people. The rearing of a native ministry had long been before the mind of the presbytery. The first ordination of a native pastor took place in 1872, when Esien Ukpabio, who was the first convert and the first native teacher, became the first native minister of the Efik church. On July 5, 1879, another native, Asuquo Ekanem, was ordained in the new church, built by the voluntary offerings of the people, which was opened that same day in Creek Town.

First native pastor.



CREEK TOWN CHURCH.

This forward step of the Presbytery of Biafra gave vitality to the native Church. It seemed to start upon a new era of its history. The churches in Old Calabar then took into consideration what they might do in relation to the native agency, and they heartily agreed to aim at supporting the native agency without seeking aid from the Church

Proposal by Presbytery of Biafra.

at home. Such cheering news was welcomed at home, not so much on account of the money it saved, but because of the promise which this assumption of responsibility indicated.

But perhaps the most signal proof of the influence of the mission upon Old Calabar is to be seen in the agreement which was drawn up between Her Britannic Majesty's consul, David Hopkins, and the leading men of the country, dated September 6, 1878. Consul Hopkins acknowledged that such an agreement would have been impossible but for the long-continued residence and teaching of our missionaries. It shows how Christian truth had, in thirty-four years, transformed the texture of Calabarese society, and answers the question of the ignorant caviller—"Who will show us any good?"

Consul Hopkins' testimony.

There are fifteen articles in the agreement, only six of which we quote, as they are the notes of triumph of our mission.

"ARTICLE 1. *Twin Children and Twin Mothers.*—Whoever wilfully takes the life of a twin child or children shall be adjudged liable to the penalty of death. Any persons wilfully concealing any fact that may come to their knowledge of the murder of twins, shall be considered accessories of the fact, and shall be liable to such punishment as the consul shall direct. Twin mothers in future shall have full liberty to visit the town, and buy and sell in the markets, the same as any other women of the town, and they shall not be molested in any way.

The agreement.

"ARTICLE 2. *Human Sacrifices.* — Any one wilfully causing the death of another, by violent flogging or by any other means, except in the case of a culprit sentenced to death by the law, shall be considered guilty of

murder, and shall suffer the penalty of death by hanging, provided the king and his chiefs, with the consent of the consul, find no extenuating circumstances which would warrant mercy being extended.

"Article 3. *Esere-Bean.*—Any person administering the esere-bean, whether the person taking it dies or not, shall be considered guilty of murder, and shall suffer death.

"Article 4. — Any person taking the esere-bean wilfully, either for the purpose of committing suicide, or for the purpose of attempting to prove their innocence of any crime of which they may have been accused, shall be considered guilty of attempted murder, and shall be fined as heavily as their circumstances will permit, and shall be banished from the country.

"Article 5. *Egbo Iquö*, or the stripping of helpless women in the public streets.—This abominable, disgraceful, and barbarous custom of allowing the young men of the town to take an Egbo out, and seize, strip, and indecently assault any woman wearing a dress or cloth in the street, then exhibiting such dress or cloth hung upon a pole, or the tree in front of the Egbo palaver-house, being so disgusting and revolting, is now and for ever abolished.

"Article 6. *Widows.* — The custom of compelling widows to remain in their houses, in filth and in wretchedness, after the death of their husband, until his devil-making is over (they having been sometimes kept for seven years in this state of misery), is abolished. The widows are to remain mourning for one month after the death of their husbands, and after that no further restraint will be put upon them."

CHAPTER XII

FORWARD!

1881 AND 1882 were years of trial to the mission. One of our respected missionaries—the Rev. Alexander Ross of Duke Town—had assumed an attitude towards his brethren which rendered it necessary to send a deputation from the home Church to investigate and settle the dispute. The Rev. David Williamson of Queensferry, and the Rev. David Marshall of East Calder, at the request of the Foreign Mission Board, undertook the task, and set sail on October 29, 1881.

Deputation to Old Calabar.

On their arrival they found that the only remedy to the dispute was that Mr. Ross should no longer labour in that field. Unfortunately Mr. Ross did not acquiesce in this decision, but left the mission and started a rival church in Duke Town, which led to much heartburning and no little confusion.

The visit of the deputies was greatly blessed, as it cheered the native converts, and brought the native Church into sympathetic contact with the Church at home. King Eyo VII. and the other elders rendered many kindnesses to the visitors, and received in return much stimulus and encouragement in their work. The

presence of Mr. Williamson and Mr. Marshall was regarded as an epoch in the history of the mission.

Mr. Williamson dies at sea.

But the mission was again put under the cloud by the unexpected death of Mr. Williamson, at sea, on his way home to Scotland. This friend of the missionary cause, after fulfilling his commission with characteristic impartiality, went on board in apparently good health, but soon developed symptoms which led to his death on January 30.

KING EYO VII.

Death of Mrs. Sutherland.

Shortly before this deputation arrived, there had fallen in the service one whose name must ever be held in honour—Mrs. Sutherland. The story of her life shows the possibilities of quiet heroism which thorough consecration to Christ may develop in the midst of the most unpromising circumstances. After thirty-two years' labour, characterised by homely piety, sound sense, and rare enthusiasm for the cause of Christ, "Mammy" Sutherland entered into her rest on October 19, 1881.

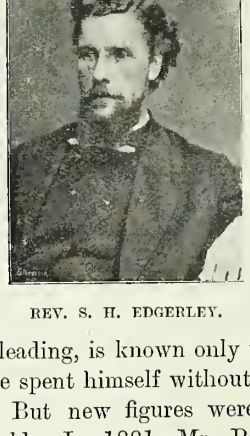
Death of Mrs. Anderson.

But the cause suffered by the death of another lady—Mrs. Anderson, a woman of great energy and of strong character, who with her husband had lived through the stormy scenes of the early days, when the heathen raged and imagined vain things. She, like Mrs. Sutherland, was

the friend of widows and orphans, and, as a native woman said, "she has saved many a head from being cut off, and many an ear too."

Death of Mr. Edgerley.

In little more than a year after Mrs. Anderson had entered into her rest, the Rev. Samuel H. Edgerley was called away, in February 1883. For twenty years he had served as an ordained missionary. He was the David Livingstone of the missionary band. Possessed of great courage and endurance, he explored many regions never visited before by a European, and always displayed that subtle tact and Christian sympathy which made him a welcome visitor. His journals in connection with his pioneering tours are still living with interest to the student of ethnology as well as to the student of missions. What he did for Old Calabar in preaching and teaching, in exploring and building, in dispensing and personal pleading, is known only to the Master, in whose service he spent himself without stint.



REV. S. H. EDGERLEY.

More labourers.

But new figures were appearing upon the mission field. In 1881, Mr. Peebles, teacher, was settled at Duke Town, and Mr. Alexander Cruickshank at Ikörófiöng; and in the following year the staff was reinforced from Jamaica, by the settlement of the Rev. Hopetoun Gillies Clerk at Creek Town, and the Rev. E. W. Jarrett at Duke Town. Artisan missionaries were represented by Mr.

John Morrison and Mr. Carl Ludwig; whilst Miss M'Phun in 1882, Miss Hogg in 1884, and Mrs. Lyall in 1885, filled the blanks among the female workers.

Shortly before his death, Mr. Edgerley had strongly urged the necessity of procuring a steamer of light draught, which might be suitable for plying upon the upper reaches of the river. To this appeal the children of the Church gave a hearty response, by sending out the "David Williamson."

The "David Williamson."

THE "DAVID WILLIAMSON."

The arrival of the steamer enabled the missionaries to take advantage of the river-way, and to penetrate to the "regions beyond." Though many journeys of exploration had been made inland, and pressing requests for preachers and teachers had been received from some of the tribes, yet the difficulty of transit in a country in which there are no beasts of burden, pointed to the rivers as the lines along which extension was to be carried out.

To the waterway of the Cross river attention was

now definitely turned, and a period of great activity set in. In 1885 the Rev. E. W. Jarrett opened Ikötana, a town on the left bank of the river, over one hundred miles above Duke Town, with about three hundred inhabitants. He soon made an impression upon the people. Six of the children of the town lived with him, for the sake of the influence of a Christian home; one of the boys, his interpreter, being able to speak eight languages. In times of war Mr. Jarrett found church and school emptied, yet he was taught not to be discouraged. "Had I known," he said to one of the natives on one of these occasions, "they were not going to come out better than that, I should have gone to another town." "If it had not been for the good word you are always teaching us," replied the man, "you would see our town filled with heads." In view of the harvest it is something to see the weeds destroyed, though no grain has yet been gathered in.

Pressing up the Cross river, Ikötana.

Two years after this, the Rev. J. F. Gartshore pressed up the river beyond Ikötana, and began work at Ungwana. The work of a pioneer missionary in Old Calabar is no easy task. For the first six months, as Mr. Gartshore declared, he was more a contractor than a missionary, more a backwoodsman than a cleric. He built outhouses, children's rooms, store, dispensary, cut down the bush, made roads, rooted up trees, healed the sick, taught school, preached the gospel, and reduced the language of the people to writing! It is to be regretted that Mr. Gartshore has been compelled, on account of ill-health, to relinquish, after such short but brilliant service, a sphere of labour which lay so much to his heart.

Ungwana.

The companion of many of Mr. Gartshore's journeys,

the Rev. James Luke, with all the dash of an explorer, with all the zeal, versatility, and tact of a pioneer, settled in 1889 in the midst of a large population midway between Ikötana and Ungwana, at a village called Emuremura. Here he met with a hearty reception from the chief, Ebök, a mild and gentlemanly native. Ebök at once cleared out a native house for Mr. Luke as a temporary residence. Then the work of building, road-making, etc., began; language had to be conquered, and all the manual labour and mental worry which we impose upon our upriver agents had to be undergone. Why do we not send an artisan with each missionary who opens up new ground?

Emuremura.

EBÖK.

Within eighteen months, spite of many indications of dense ignorance and superstition, Mr. Luke was able to point to signs of the dawn. Children were given him to be trained under Christian influences; chiefs came secretly, like Nicodemus, to inquire the way of life; the common people gladly heard a gospel which is destined to lead them into a liberty not yet dreamt of by them; and the chiefs and slaves of one part of the town combined in subscribing £6, 5s. to help in erecting a building to serve as church and school. In this way Mr. Luke is preparing the way of the Lord in Emuremura.

Mr. Luke.

But another way is being prepared among these native tribes—not the way of the Lord. "As far into

The curse of gin.

the interior as we have yet penetrated, we found the gin bottle had preceded us"—is the testimony of Mr. Goldie of Creek Town, whose life has been spent in works of Christian philanthropy. From Ikörófiöng we have the same testimony from Mr. Cruickshank: "Strong drink is a very great hindrance to our work. A chief (not a Christian) said to me the other day, 'If you would stop the drink from coming to Calabar for one single year, you would see what a difference there would be.'" The same cry comes from Emuremura. "I regret to write," says Mr.

MR. M'KENZIE, MR. LUKE, EKÖT THE TEACHER, AND NATIVES OF UNGWANA.

Luke, "that the Lord's work is and will be much hindered by the sale to the natives by British traders of the accursed strong drink. If it were good, honest stuff, we would still regret the natives coming under its power; but when it is the vile fluid called 'trade gin,' which a trader would not allow his dog to touch, and which wrecks and ruins the ignorant, emotional negro, no language can be too strong in protest." So keenly, indeed, have our workers in that field felt the inconsistency and antagonism of the drink traffic, that the Presbytery of Biafra made a statement and appeal to

the Church on the subject, in which the following sentence occurs:—"The Presbytery, brought face to face with this curse, is convinced that to put an end to it would do more for Christ's cause in Africa than to double the number of her missionaries." It is deeply to be regretted that the traders should pursue a policy which is as shortsighted for their own interests as it is debasing to the natives. The more the natives are debauched and degraded with gin, the less labour can they bestow upon cultivating and procuring the goods in which they trade, and consequently the less are they able to purchase from our markets. Were there a quickened sense of the cruelty and injustice of this trade on the part of the merchants who control it, they would at once remove this great obstacle to civilisation and Christianity from the shores of Africa, and erase from our foreign trade one of its blackest blots.

Death again busy.

The latest events connected with the mission need only be briefly touched upon, as they are still green in the memory of the Church. Within the last three years death has again been busy among our workers, and yet never were there so many volunteers for this sphere of missionary activity. In 1890, Mr. Jarrett passed away at Ikötana, where he was succeeded by Mr. Porteous. In 1891, Mrs. Lyall, after a few years of notable work, died at Edinburgh when home on furlough; whilst in the same year, Mrs. Goldie, whose life was synonymous with patient perseverance in well-doing, rested from her abundant labours in Creek Town.

In the following year the Church was shocked by the news that the Rev. A. M. Porteous, who had only gone out in 1889, had fallen a victim to fever. Stationed

at Ikötana, he had undertaken the superintendence of Ungwana, from which Mr. Gartshore had withdrawn in broken health, and of Emurcmura, from which Mr. Luke had had to retire for a short time, baffled by fever. The work seems to have told upon his ardent temperament. Fever struck him, and he had to flee to Ikörófiöng, sixty miles down the river, to find help from Mr. Cruickshank. The weary pathetic journey for thirteen hours in the canoe, his triumphant death, and his last message, "May they come, more and more, and of the right kind!" cannot be erased from the memory of the Church. A humble man, yet a profound scholar, a saint, yet on his death-bed crying, "I am a poor vile sinner, trusting in the blood of Jesus"—he has enriched the Church by a beautiful life, from which, as from a tree in blossom, the Church has inhaled a fragrance by which she may be as greatly blessed as by the plucking of much fruit.

Rev. A. M. Porteous.

REV. A. M. PORTEOUS.

But ere the first pangs of sorrow were past, the news came that another servant had been called away. Dr. William Rae, with his courageous wife, on hearing of Mr. Porteous's death, at once pressed up the river to the help of the native teachers, who were left without European aid in the young up-river stations. After two days' journey he reached Ikötana, where he examined the school, encouraged the native teacher, and interviewed the chief. Next

Dr. Rae.

day he rowed up to Emuremura under the influence of fever, and was assisted to the mission-house, where two days afterwards he died —a loveable man, who loved much, and whose love of men made his labour incessant but full of joy.

DR. RAE.

Filling up the breach.

New men and women, however, came forward to fill the blanks, and to augment the staff of workers, among others the Rev. John T. Dean, the Rev. Ebenezer Deas, the Rev. J. W. M'Kenzie (who was permitted to labour only a few months when summoned by the Master), the Rev. George M'Donald, and the Rev. William Marwick.

New departure: Educational and Industrial Institution.

A promising feature of our later policy in connection with Old Calabar is the development of the industrial side of the mission. The Calabarese know little of handicraft, and are almost entirely engaged as sort of middlemen between the traders and the tribes in the interior. In this way they are too exclusively dependent upon the foreigner for everything which requires skilled labour. By creating and fostering native industries, much would be done to civilise and elevate the people, and to provide a means of support for many of our converts. Already several artisans interested in missionary work have gone out in connection with the mission, but the latest movement of the Church is calculated to place this department upon a more satisfactory basis. It has been arranged to found an Educa-

tional and Industrial Institution, somewhat on the lines of those at Lovedale and Blythswood, and the Foreign Mission Board has appointed as first missionary-superintendent, the Rev. W. Risk Thomson, who has been acclimatised by eight years' service in Jamaica, and whose career marks him out as eminently fitted for this work, by his scholarly attainments, his mechanical skill, his business ability and force of character.

Looking back.

The outlook for Old Calabar was never so bright. The work is breaking forth on the right hand and on the left. The workers are enthusiastic and hopeful. Looking back over the history of the mission since its commencement, less than fifty years ago, we cannot but thank God for the changes which His gospel has wrought. The abolition of human sacrifices, of substitutionary punishment, of trial by the esere-bean, and of twin murder; the amelioration in the lot of twin mothers and widows, and women in general; the respect created for the person of the slave; the destruction of cruel practices and degrading superstitions; the creation of reverence for the Sabbath; the new hopes and ideals which have elevated the lives of many hitherto in degrading darkness; the sweetening of society with Christian influences and aspirations; the bringing of many souls into the presence and under the power of the Redeemer—are among the blessings which our Church has conferred upon that people by the instrumentality of the gospel of Christ. But there are other results which cannot be valued nor tabulated—those subtle and far-reaching social and spiritual consequences, which, for the betterment of humanity, flow like virtue from the garments of Christ, wherever His blessed feet have trod. These are results felt by those

who have lived through the vicissitudes of the mission; *felt*, but as evasive of tabulation as the change from a stifling atmosphere into an atmosphere which braces mind and body and gives rejuvenescence to the spirit. The history of our mission in Old Calabar may be one of suffering and heroism, but it is also a history of miracle and triumph—a proof, on a grand scale, that the gospel is "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth."

"PORTEOUS-RAE."

APPENDIX

I

ANNALS OF OLD CALABAR

1841.	Sept.	Jamaica Presbytery resolves to begin mission work in Central Africa.
1843.	Jan.	Letter received from chiefs in Old Calabar, offering ground for mission settlement.
1844.	May.	Sanction given to proposal by United Secession Synod.
,,	Dec.	Jamaica Presbytery appoints Rev. H. M. Waddell to begin Old Calabar mission.
1845.		Students' Missionary Society adopt mission to West Africa as their first scheme.
1846.	April 10.	Arrival of Rev. H. M. Waddell, Mr. and Mrs. Edgerley, Edward Miller, and others, in "Warree," at Duke Town.
,,	May 6.	School opened at Duke Town.
,,	July 26.	First sermon preached at Creek Town by Rev. H. M. Waddell.
,,	Aug. 21.	First printed page (Bible lesson) in Efik published at Old Calabar.
,,	Dec. 1.	Death of E. Miller at Fernando Po.
1846–47.		Rev. H. M. Waddell visits Jamaica: his transference from Scottish Missionary Society to United Secession Mission.
1847.	Jan.	Arrival of Rev. William Jameson (Jamaica) at Duke Town.
,,	May 13.	Union of Secession and Relief Churches: Old Calabar mission adopted as mission of United Presbyterian Church.

1847.	June.		Return of Rev. H. M. Waddell, and arrival of Messrs. Hugh Goldie, Newhall, H. Hamilton, and others, in "Warree," at Duke Town.
,,	Aug.	1.	First observance of Lord's Supper at Duke Town.
,,	Aug.	5.	Death of Rev. William Jameson at Creek Town.
1849.			Juvenile offering for mission ship (over £3180).
,,	Feb.		Arrival of Rev. William Anderson from Jamaica.
,,	Aug.		Arrival of Rev. H. M. Waddell, Mr. William C. Thomson, teacher, Miss Miller, etc., in mission ship "Jane."
1850.	Feb.		Human sacrifices for the dead abolished by law at Duke Town and Creek Town.
,,	April.		First marriage of Calabar natives according to Christian custom at Creek Town.
,,	Dec.		Abolition of Sabbath market at Creek Town.
1851.			Ordination of Mr. S. Edgerley, teacher, at Glasgow: arrival in Old Calabar.
1853.	Oct.	16.	Baptism of Esien Esien Ukpabio, first convert at Creek Town.
,,	Oct.	30.	Baptism of young Eyo, and first observance of Lord's Supper by natives at Creek Town.
,,	Oct.	30.	Baptism of Mary Taylor Anderson, first convert at Duke Town.
,,	Nov.	6	Baptism of Sarah Anderson and three children, and first observance of Lord's Supper by natives at Duke Town.
,,	Dec.	4.	Baptism of Joseph Edgerley (Edungikan), first convert at Old Town.
1854.	Feb.	22.	First marriage of natives according to Christian custom, at Duke Town.
,,	March.		Arrival of Mr. Alexander Sutherland, teacher.
1855.			Arrival of Mr. John Wylie, teacher.
,,	Jan.	19.	Bombardment and destruction of Old Town by H.M.S. "Antelope."
,,	Feb.	25.	Opening of church at Duke Town.
,,	Aug.		Arrival of Dr. Archibald Hewan and Misses E. Johnstone and M. Barty.
,,	Sept.	9.	Opening of church at Creek Town.
1856.	Jan.		Permission granted by British Government to rebuild Old Town.
,,	April	20.	Death of Mr. A. Sutherland at Old Town.
,,	June.		Arrival of Rev. Zerub Baillie.
,,	July.		Opening of station at Ikoneto.
1857.	March.		Arrival of Mr. S. H. Edgerley, jun., teacher.

1857.	May	28.	Death of Rev. S. Edgerley at Duke Town.
1858.			Arrival of Rev. Alexander Robb (Jamaica), and Mr. William Timson, teacher.
,,	May.		Resignation of Rev. H. M. Waddell.
,,	May.		Ordination of Mr. William C. Thomson, teacher; settlement at Ikoneto.
,,			First collection by native church.
,,	Sept.	1.	Formation of Presbytery of Biafra.
,,	Sept.	11.	Death of Mrs. Timson at Creek Town.
,,	Sept.	26.	Death of Mrs. Thomson at Old Town.
,,	Nov.		Opening of station at Ikörófiöng by Rev. Z. Baillie.
,,	Dec.	3.	Death of King Eyo Honesty II. at Creek Town
1859.	Aug.		Abolition of Sabbath market in Duke Town.
1861.			Abolition of substitutionary capital punishment at Creek Town.
,,	July	21.	Baptism of Egbo Angwan, first convert at Ikoncto.
,,	July.		Arrival of Rev. John Baillie.
1862.	Sept.	13.	Death of Mrs. Z. Baillie at Ikörófiöng.
,,			Publication of Efik New Testament, translated by Rev. H. Goldie.
1863.	July	24.	Ordination of Mr. William Timson, teacher.
,,	Nov.	24.	Ordination of Mr. Samuel H. Edgerley, teacher.
,,	Dec.	27.	Baptism of first three converts at Ikörófiöng.
1864.	May	7.	Death of Rev. John Baillie at Edinburgh.
,,	Oct.	30.	Opening of church at Ikörófiöng.
1865.			Arrival of Mr. D. E. Lewis, teacher.
,,	Aug.	4.	Death of Rev. Z. Baillie (Ikörófiöng) at Liverpool.
1866.			Resignation of Dr. A. Hewan.
,,			Resignation of Rev. William C. Thomson.
1868.	Nov.		Arrival of Dr. J. Robertson, medical missionary, and Mr. J. Lawson.
,,			Publication of Efik Old Testament and *Pilgrim's Progress*, translated by Dr. Robb.
1869.			Arrival of Mr. G. Ashworth, teacher.
1870.	April.		Arrival of Rev. J. Granger.
,,	June	10.	Death of Rev. W. Timson at Ikoneto.
,,	Aug.	8.	Death of Mr. Lewis at Creek Town.
,,	Dec.	9.	Death of Rev. J. Granger at Ikoneto.
1871.	Aug.	8.	Death of Mr. G. Ashworth at Creek Town.
1872.	April	9.	Ordination of Esien Esien Ukpabio at Creek Town.
,,	July.		Arrival of Rev. D. Campbell.
1873.	Mar.	15.	Abolition of Sabbath market at Duke Town.
,,			Resignation of Mr. J. Lawson.
,,	June	5.	Death of Miss E. Johnstone at Creek Town.

1873.	Aug.		Arrival of Mr. R. Beedie, Mr. T. Campbell, and Mr. A. S. Morton, teachers.
,,	Sept.	21.	Opening of church at Ikoneto.
1874.			Arrival of Miss M. Johnstone, teacher.
,,			Settlement of Miss Diboll (afterwards Mrs. Swan).
,,			Election of King Eyo Honesty VII. at Creek Town.
,,	Sept.	27.	Death of Mrs. Edgerley, sen., at Creek Town.
,,			Resignatiou of Dr. J. Robertson.
1875.			Resignation of Rev. Alexander Robb, D.D., and of Rev. D. Campbell.
,,			Arrival of Rev. A. Ross and of Mr. J. D. Swan, teacher.
1876.			Arrival of Miss Slessor, teacher.
1878.	Mar.	20.	Ordination of Mr. R. M. Beedie.
1879.	Jan.	3.	Death of Mr. A. Morton at Duke Town.
,,	Jnly	5.	Ordination of Asnquŏ Ekanem.
1880.	July	10.	Death of Mr. T. Campbell at Bowen, Queensland.
,,			Formation of congregation at Adiabo, under Rev. E. E. Ukpabio.
1881.			Opening of church at Adiabo.
,,			Arrival of Mr. W. S. Peebles and Mr. A. Cruickshank, teachers.
,,	Oct.	19.	Death of Mrs. Sutherland at Duke Town.
1881–82.			Visit of Revs. David Williamson and David Marshall to Old Calabar mission.
,,			Deposition of Rev. Alexander Ross (Duke Town).
1882.	Jan.	26.	Death of Mrs. Anderson at Duke Town.
,,	Jan.	30.	Death of Rev. David Williamson on return voyage from Old Calabar.
,,	Sept.		Arrival of Rev. H. G. Clerk (from Jamaica).
,,	Oct.		Arrival of Rev. E. W. Jarrett (from Jamaica), Mr. J. Morrison, artisan, and Miss E. M. M'Phun, teacher.
1883.	Feb.	24.	Death of Rev. S. H. Edgerley at Duke Town.
,,			Arrival of Mr. C. Ludwig, artisan.
,,			Resignation of Mr. J. Swan, teacher.
1884.	April	13.	Ordination of Mr. Alexander Crnickshank.
,,			Arrival of Miss Jessie F. Hogg, teacher.
,,			Resignation of Mr. W. S. Peebles, teacher.
,,			Arrival of river steamer "David Williamson" (provided by the children of the Church).
1885.			Arrival of Mrs. Lyall.
,,			Opening of station at Ikŏtana by Rev. E. W. Jarrett.
.,	Sept.		Arrival of Rev. James Luke.

1886.			Old Calabar Female mission incorporated with the Zenana mission.
1887.			Arrival of Miss I. W. Johnstone, Rev. J. F. Gartshore, and Mr. J. Bishop, printer and evangelist.
,,			Resignation of Mr. Carl Ludwig.
1888.	Aug.		Opening of station at Ökóyóng by Miss Slessor.
,,	Oct.		Opening of station at Ungwana by Rev. J. F. Gartshore.
,,			Resignation of Rev. H. G. Clerk, and marriage of Miss M'Phun (Mrs. Beedie).
1889.			Arrival of Mr. Charles Ovens, artisan.
,,	May.		Opening of station at Emuremura by Rev. Jas. Luke.
,,	Sept.		Arrival of Miss M. Dunlop and Rev. A. M. Porteous, B.D.
,,			Retiral of Rev. William Anderson (Duke Town).
1890.			Arrival of Mr. Charles W. Morrison, teacher, and Miss Helen B. Hay (now Mrs. M'Donald).
,,	Mar.	30.	Death of Rev. E. W. Jarrett at Ikötana.
,,			Resignation of Rev. J. F. Gartshore.
,,	Oct.		Arrival of William Rae, L.R.C.P. and S.E.
,,	Mar.	28.	Arrival of Miss Elizabeth J. Hutton (now Mrs. Marwick).
1891.	May	16.	Death of Mrs. Lyall (Duke Town) at Edinburgh.
,,	Aug.	20.	Death of Mrs. Goldie at Creek Town.
,,			Arrival of Rev. John T. Dean, M.A., and Mr. H. B. Alexander, artisan.
1892.	Jan.	26.	Death of Rev. A. M. Portcous, B.D., at Ikörófióng.
,,	Feb.		Arrival of Mr. John Manson, artisan.
,,	Feb.	22.	Death of Dr. William Rae at Emuremura.
,,	Mar.	16.	Arrival of Rev. Ebenezer Deas.
,,	Mar.	24.	Death of King Eyo Honesty VII. at Creek Town.
,,	May.	20.	Arrival of Mr. Peter M'Omish, artisan, and Dr. Friederich A. W. Fischer.
,,	Aug.	30.	Arrival of Miss Agnes Stewart and Miss Chalmers (Mrs. Dean).
,,	Sept.	17.	Arrival of Revs. Jas. W. M'Kenzie, George M'Donald, and William Marwick, and Miss Isabella M. Budge. "Porteous-Rae" steam launch provided at cost of £400.
,,	Dec.	16.	Death of Rev. James W. M'Kenzie at Ungwana.
1893.	Jan.	5.	Death of Mrs. Dean at Creek Town.
,,	Feb.		Mr. J. Murdoch Ross, artisan missionary, arrived.
,,			Resignation of Mr. C. W. Morrison, teacher.
,,	May.	13.	Death of Mr. J. Murdoch Ross at Ikörófióng.

1893.	May	20.	Death of Mrs. Cruickshank at Ikörőñōng.
,,	July.		Revs. Dr. Laws and W. Risk Thomson visit Old Calabar in connection with proposed Industrial Institution.
,,	July.		Appointment of George B. Thompson, L.R.C.P.S. Edin. and Glasgow.
,,	Aug.	11.	Ordination of Rev. Itam Okpo Itam at Ikoneto.
,,	Sept.	5.	Death of Mr. John Bishop, missionary printer.
,,		11.	Arrival of Mr. W. T. Weir.
,,	Oct.	11.	Departure of Mrs. Rae (widow of Dr. Rae) for Old Calabar.
,,	Oct.		Appointment of Mr. James Lindsay as missionary engineer.
,,	Nov.		Appointment of Mr. William A. Paton as missionary printer.

II

STATIONS AND AGENTS, 1894

	Formation of Station.	Missionaries.	Native Agents.
Creek Town	1846	Rev. Hugh Goldie.	
		,, Wm. Marwick.	Eyo Ekanem, Aye Eyo Okon, Okpo Jack, Esien Oku Oboko.
		Mr. John Manson.	
		,, Wm. A. Paton.	
Duke Town	1846	Rev. William Anderson.	
		,, Robt. M. Beedie.	
		,, W. Risk Thomson.	
		,, J. T. Dean, M.A.	
		Dr. F. A. W. Fischer.	William Cobham, James Ekanem.
		Mr. W. T. Weir.	
		,, Charles Ovens.	
		,, H. B. Alexander.	
		,, Peter M'Omish.	
		,, James Lindsay.	
Ikörófiöng .	1858	Rev. A. Cruickshank.	Efiöng Abiyak, Akpan Utip, Eyo Inyang.
Ikoneto .	1856	Rev. Itam Okpo Itam.	
Adiabo .	1880	,, Esien E. Ukpabio.	
Ikötana .	1883	,, E. Deas.	Uwa Akpan Esien.
Ungwana .	1888	,, Geo. M'Donald.	Eköt Esien.
Emuremura	1889	,, James Luke.	Okon Esien
		Dr. Geo. B. Thompson.	Location not yet fixed.

III

ZENANA MISSIONARIES

Creek Town .	Miss M. Johnstone,	appointed	*1873
Creek Town .	Miss M. Dunlop .	,,	1889
Okóyóng . .	Miss M. M. Slessor	,,	*1876
Duke Town .	Miss M. W. Edgerley	,,	*1854
Duke Town .	Miss A. Stewart .	,,	1892
Duke Town .	Miss J. M. Budge	,,	1892
Ikóróñóng . .	Miss J. F. Hogg .	,,	*1883
Emuremura .	Mrs. Rae . .	,,	1893

* Placed on Zenana staff, 1886.

IV

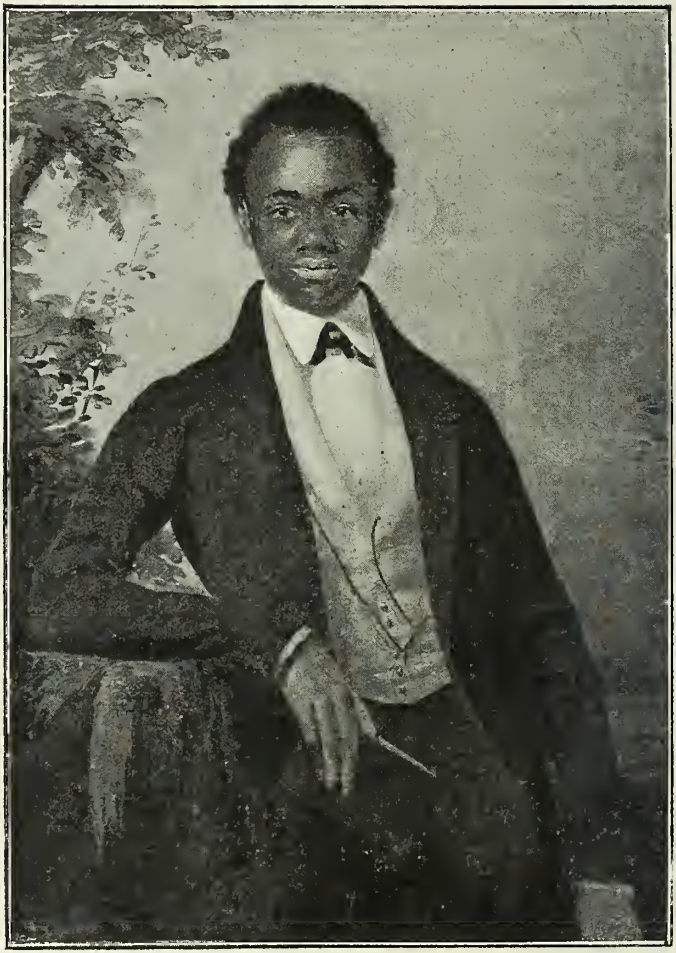
PERSONAL STATISTICS.

Congregations.	Church and Congregation.								Meetings and Classes.										
	Members, Nov. 1, 1891.	Admissions.	Removals.	Members, Oct. 31, 1892.	Gain.	Loss.	Candidates.	Baptisms.	Out-Stations.	Attendance.	Prayer-Meetings.	Attendance.	Ministers' Week-day Classes.	Attendance.	Sabbath Schools.	Classes.	Teachers.	Attendance of Adults.	Children.
OLD CALABAR.																			
Creek Town, . . .	191	34	9	216	25	..	92	40	4	340	5	100	7	50	5	17	17	120	300
Duke Town, . . .	116	35	..	151	35	..	7	1	2	200	2	150	..	..	1	14	15	..	253
Ikörófiöng, . . .	15	1	..	16	1	..	15	3	3	180	1	50	..	..	1	7	7	..	92
Ikoneto, ...	23	..	1	22	..	1	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	4	4	4	60
Adiabo, ...	20	..	1	19	..	1	19	13	..	..	1	15	1	14	2	2	2	49	34
Ikötana, ...	5	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	2	10	5	30	..	..	1	3	3	30	30
Ungwana, ...	1	2	..	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Emuremura, . . .	4	..	1	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	3	12	1	7	2	..	2	5	20
	375	72	12	435	63	3	163	57	11	730	18	377	9	71	14	47	50	248	789

OLD CALABAR MISSION MAP

The Edinburgh Geographical Institute

John Bartholomew & Co.



Jeffo. Lloyd

ÆTAT 18.

Missions of the United Presbyterian Church

THE STORY OF OUR KAFFRARIAN MISSION

BY

WILLIAM J. SLOWAN

Edinburgh
OFFICES OF UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
1894

PREFACE

This outline of Kaffrarian mission history does not appear to call for any formal preface. But I am happy to embrace the opportunity custom affords, to express obligations to many writers on missions in South Africa, from whose stores I have, perhaps too freely, drawn. Among works which have been specially helpful I would name Chalmers' *Life of the Rev. Tiyo Soga*, Calderwood's *Caffres and Caffre Missions*, Carlyle's *South African Mission Fields*, and Macdonald's *Light in Africa*.

I am also much indebted to Mr. Robert Young, F.R.G.S.E., the Rev. Dr. Wm. Anderson Soga, and other friends, who have been good enough to revise my proofs; and to Mr. John D. Sinclair, B.D., for permission to use as illustrations some of his South African photographs. The preparation of this story has vividly recalled a visit to Kaffraria in company with the Synod Deputies of 1883. The overflowing kindness and hospitality then received, and the impression gained of missionary trials, devotion, and success, will not soon be forgotten. W. J. S.

Glasgow, 1st May 1894.

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THE STORY OF OUR KAFFRARIAN MISSION

CHAPTER I

THE ATTRACTION OF AFRICA

Africa and its people early made an irresistible appeal to the missionary sympathies of the fathers of our Church. It was not the loveliness of situation that drew their first efforts to Jamaica, but the love and pity that burned in their hearts towards the enslaved sons of Africa, whose wrongs and miseries marred the beauty of the Pearl of the Antilles, and sullied the flag that waved above it. It was indeed on their way to Calabar that our first missionaries sailed for Kingston. A thousand leagues are only as a handbreadth in His purposes, with whom a thousand years are but as one day.

Nor can we doubt the providential guidance in the choice of South Africa for the direct attack on the unknown continent that followed. The missionary societies, which at the beginning of the century with one consent made their way to the Cape, had no thought of Central Africa as a place of broad rivers and streams, of boundless fertility and teeming population; but again our fathers built more wisely than they knew. After a

period of some doubt the wisdom of their choice has been amply vindicated. With the Great Sahara and the more hopeless desert of Mohammedanism, barring access from the North, a climate deadly to Europeans levying heavy toll on the approaches from east and west, South Africa, taking the term in its larger sense as embracing the region between the Cape and the Zambesi, is now recognised as the true base of the missionary advance, which will one day join our Kaffrarian Churches with their brethren round the Central Lakes, and in that Old Calabar whose name is cut deep into the heart of our Church.

The Approach through Cape Colony

The Portuguese and Dutch, 1486–1795.

We cannot sketch here, save in the barest outline, the history of Cape Colony, with whose fortunes the story of our Mission has mingled for three quarters of a century. Discovered in 1486 by Bartholomew Diaz, the Cape was claimed for Portugal by Vasco di Gama in 1497, and remained in the nominal possession of that country till 1652, when the Dutch, who for half a century had cast covetous eyes on this valuable "house of call," on their way to and from India, landed their first party of settlers. By degrees they gained the upper hand, extended the boundaries of the colony, and dispossessed or enslaved the natives, to whom they gave the meaningless name of Hottentots. In 1685 eight successive companies of French Huguenots, driven out of their own country by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, settled on the coast at Paarl and Stellenbosch, introducing at once the cultivation of the vine, and an element of French sweetness and brightness into the

stern and self-contained community, an element still distinctly traceable.

A new stage was reached in 1795, when, at the request of the Prince of Orange, a British fleet put down a revolution against the colonial authorities, and established a British Protectorate. By the Treaty of Amiens the Cape was restored to Holland; but on the renewal of the European war, England, in January, 1806, again obtained possession of the colony, which was formally ceded to her in 1815: the area included being some 120,000 square miles, with a total population of 61,500.

Coming of the British, 1795.

CAPE TOWN.

The Cape has proved one of the most difficult if not disappointing of the colonial problems with which Britain has had to deal. She was met at the outset with the question of the native races, those already subjugated and those pressing hard upon the young colony—a question, after four-score years, still persistent and troublesome. Perplexing enough in itself, it has been complicated by distance

A difficult problem.

from the seat of imperial authority, by vacillating counsels, which, with the best intentions, have often courted disappointment and failure, and by the divided feeling in the colony, due to the presence of a foreign and unfriendly element imbued with ideas in regard to the treatment of the natives inconsistent with more modern and more generous convictions of the rights of man.

Natives and Missionaries.

The native question has been not unnaturally involved from the beginning with the missionary question. The native has always found a friend in the missionary, who in turn has always been regarded with suspicion, if not dislike, by a considerable section of the colonists, whether Dutch or English. The Dutch took high ground with the natives. Their rule in general was of a hard "paternal" order, under which even the free subject had little liberty. Life was embittered and restricted by needless and harsh regulations; and, having little freedom themselves, the colonists seemed determined to give none at all to those whom they regarded as members of an inferior race. The authority devolved on individuals through the weakness of the central Government was cruelly abused: not justice but vengeance too often animating an administration which included in one person complainant and judge, legislator and executioner.

The Hottentots.

Not that the Hottentots greatly benefited at first by the change to British rule. Regulations intended for their protection wrought so unfairly that only at the mission stations was any manhood left in them. By and by the scarcity of labour, and the hope of conciliating the Boers, whom nothing would satisfy short of the old power of life and death over the coloured population, led to an arbitrary

apprenticeship of Hottentot children. In 1811, on the complaint of the missionaries, a number of Boers were brought to trial for gross cruelty to their servants; and, for the first time in the history of South Africa, Europeans, to the indignation of a large section of the community, were punished for assaults on natives. But it was not till 1827, again as the result of missionary representations led by Dr. Philip, that the famous Fiftieth Ordinance in Council was issued, with the consent both of the home and colonial Governments, which placed all free persons of colour on the same footing as Europeans.

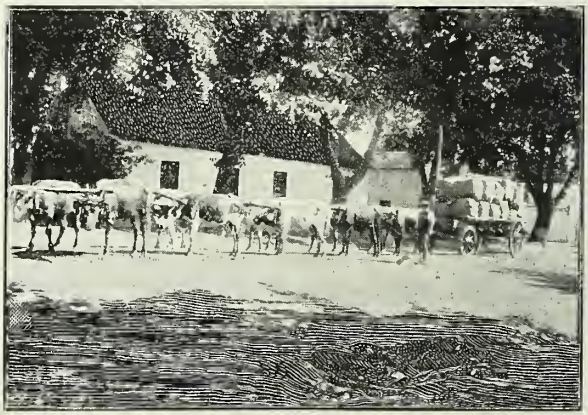
Slavery abolished 1833.

Not content with the service of the natives whom they found at the Cape, the Dutch had imported Malays from the East Indies—still prominent at Cape Town, in their characteristic and gorgeous dress—and negroes from the Guinea Coast, to serve as slaves. But the last of such cargoes was landed in 1807, and in the following year the infamous trade was prohibited. In 1833 came the total abolition of slavery in the British dominions; and the ten thousand slaves of the colony obtained their freedom at a stroke. The Boers had been sorely tried by previous limitations of their liberty, but this was more than could be borne. Numbers sought licence for themselves and slavery for their dependants beyond the limits of British rule; and the first steps were taken which eventually led to the formation of the Orange Free State and the Republic of the Transvaal, and to much heartburning and bloodshed.

Turning for a moment to events yet more directly affecting our mission, it may be noted that while still under Dutch rule the colony had so far extended that the Gamtoos River, the old dividing line between the

Hottentot and the Kaffir, was no longer accepted as its Eastern boundary. In 1740 the colonists had for the first time crossed swords with the Kaffirs, and forty years afterwards had pushed as far east as to the Great Fish River. This river, running across the colony in a south-easterly course, from the Zuur Berg to the Indian Ocean, was till 1818 recognised as the limit of neutral ground between the British possessions and Kaffirland.

First contact with the Kaffirs, 1740.



OX WAGGON.

On the threshold of the new century the colony found itself involved in the first of the long series of Kaffir wars which, during two generations, devastated its eastern province, and led ultimately, through blood and tears, to the extension of British territories up to the northern boundary of Natal. The brief narrative of these wars which is all we can give, may be more fitly woven into the subsequent narrative. Nor is it needful to

The Kaffir Wars.

attempt to judge between the contending parties. There are always two to a quarrel—usually, if not always, two to blame. The Government and colonists on one side, and the Kaffirs on the other, alike contributed to the disastrous issue. The Government was stubborn when it would have been politic to yield: conciliatory, when it would have been wise to stand firm. The Cape authorities willingly joined the Government in recognising the equal rights of all men, white or coloured, and framed such laws as were fitted to do justice to all. But though every Dutchman was not a slave-driver, nor every Englishman a filibuster, too many of both nationalities forgot their manhood and their duty when dealing with the natives. On the other hand, the Kaffir cannot be freed from blame on the ground that he fought only for the protection or restoration of his own territories. As Mr. Calderwood points out, three of the bloodiest wars occurred during a period of thirty-two years, 1819–1851, in which no land whatever was taken from him. The Kaffir, like the Christian, is often an aggravating neighbour, contact with whom makes love less easy than it may seem to those who survey the beginnings of strife from afar. A man of war from his youth up, his chief and loved employ is to feast and fight. No wonder that the proximity of the settlers' flocks and herds was often too much for his honesty. Cattle are his current coin, his very wives are bought with kine—why should he not take who had the power?

The truth is, when civilised and uncivilised men thus meet face to face, war is sure to follow. Some trivial misdeed, some error in judgment, and the combatants leap at each other's throats with equal courage, sometimes with equal cruelty; thousands suffer who have

done no wrong, and, in the end, the contending parties, exhausted but unreconciled, are left under the old conditions, sure to lead again to the old results. One point comes out bright and clear through all the sad story —no war was caused directly or indirectly by the presence of the missionaries: they were ever the peace-makers, never the peace-breakers, through all those dreary years.

The Settlers of 1820.

The year 1820 was marked by the arrival of five thousand selected "British settlers," who poured into the Eastern Province a stream of new life and energy. We cannot refer particularly to subsequent colonial advances—the gain of a free press, with which the name of Thomas Pringle, who suffered in the cause, will be ever honourably identified; the introduction of representative government; the organisation of a system of education; the doubtful blessing of the discovery of the diamond fields; or the vast enlargement of territory and population.

We are glad to believe that the suspicion with which missions and missionaries were once regarded in this mixed community is gradually giving place to the respect fairly earned by what they have done, not only for the native races but for the best interests of the colony itself, during these three quarters of a century.

CHAPTER II

THE FIELD AND THE PEOPLE

WHAT is now the main field of our mission may be roughly described as a territory 230 miles long by 120 broad, stretching from the Great Kei River to the border of Natal, and rising in a series of magnificent natural terraces from the shores of the Indian Ocean to the snowy heights of the Stormberg and Drakenberg. It forms part of one of the fairest and most fertile regions in South Africa—a goodly land beautified by a varied and brilliant flora in which the crimson of the flowery aloe, the gold of the acacia, the scarlet of the Kaffir *baum*, are blended with the strange forms of the euphorbia and cactus, and enriched with fruits alike of the temperate and torrid zones. It is a land of broad valleys and luxuriant pastures, whose soil is capable of growing all manner of cereals, in whose mountain gorges the forests clap their hands and the wild beast finds its lair; a land intersected by many rivers, which for a few months, to the despair of the traveller, pour down impetuous floods, and, to the despair of the tiller of the soil, lie dry and dormant during the rest of the year. The area is about half that of Scotland; the climate healthy, though with a considerable range of temperature.

A goodly land.

Our Church is represented in South Africa by

thirteen stations and congregations, which stretch from Somerset East, on the Little Fish River, to Gillespie, in the far north of the Transkei. These now form two presbyteries. That of "Adelaide," which includes the church in the town so named, with those of Somerset East, Glenthorn, and Tarkastad; and that of "Kaffraria," in which are grouped the purely mission charges—Emgwali, Paterson, Tutura, Columba, Malan, Miller,

SOUTH AFRICAN SCENERY.

Buchanan, Mount Frere, and Gillespie. The Emgwali station, on the borderland between the two presbyteries, extends a hand to each, and claims them as one in missionary desire and purpose.

Kaffraria is mainly peopled by one of the finest of the primitive races, numbering within the limits of the Transkei not quite half a million souls.

The Kaffirs.

The name Kaffir, or infidel, was imposed by the Arabs in contempt of a people who preferred

heathenism to Mohammedanism. Their origin is not so easily determined. The pedigree of the tribes with which we are most familiar is traced to one Zuide, who is supposed to have flourished in the year 1500, and to have been the father of three sons, Tembu, from whom come the royal Tembus; Xosa, the progenitor of the Galekas, and, in the second generation, of the Gaikas, the two families being known as the Amaxosa, of whom Kreli, as the representative of the elder branch, was, till his death in 1892, chief-paramount; and Mpondo, represented by the Pondos, who are still ruled by their own chiefs under a British protectorate.

We find the Kaffir in a country which did not originally belong to him. Pressing down through the heart of a continent in which the tide of empire has flowed, not from east to west but from north to south, he has crowded out or driven out the Hottentot, as the Hottentot before him expelled the Bushman. The Kaffirs would appear to have had no lengthened tenure of their present habitat. Mr. Carlyle places the arrival of the Amaxosa not earlier than 1670, leaving their previous story to be determined by internal evidence, or by the historian's familiar friend, conjecture. Their northern origin can, however, scarcely be doubted, and the writer who refers to "the sources of the Nile as the cradle of the race," is probably as correct in his supposition as he is mistaken in his metaphor. All the traditions point in this direction. The Basutu hut, shaped round in compliment to the sun, finds its counterpart in Abyssinia; the spear and sword carried in battle by the Kaffir brave, and the very steps with which he dances at full moon are depicted on Egyptian tombs. Some characteristics, such as circumcision, the law of the widow, the distinction between clean and

unclean, abstinence from the use of blood as food, have been thought to point to a Semitic origin, but the supposition has now been abandoned.

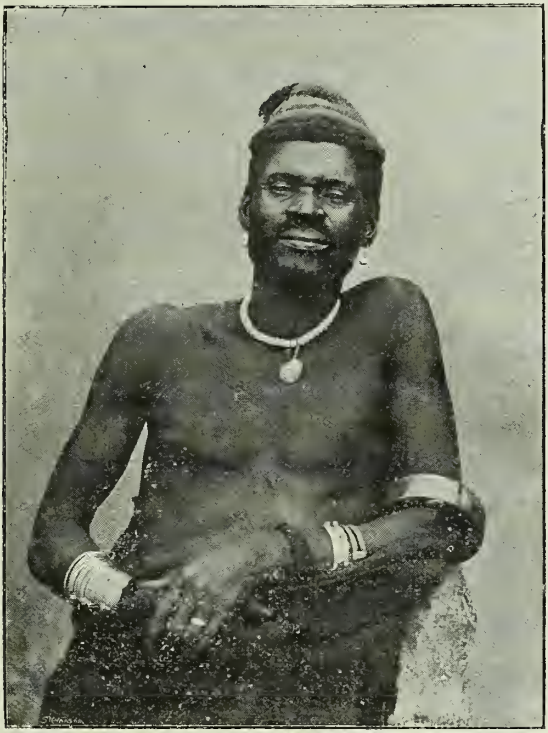
Their language.

The Bantu language spoken—with tribal modifications—by all the Kaffirs, like other African tongues to which it is probably akin, would seem to be shaped for finer uses than those of a barbarous people. Experts describe it as extremely harmonious and regular, philosophic in structure and full of melody, with a delicate and involved mechanism capable of expressing every shade of meaning. In the conjugation of the verb, which is highly inflected, having two hundred and fifty different forms, a resemblance is traced to the tongues in which Abraham spoke and Homer sang; while the alliterative structure of the language is said to be almost without a parallel. Such a mother-tongue gives a race a patent of nobility, telling of a long-forgotten culture, or of an innate refinement with which the modern Kaffir is not always credited. The "clicks" which first arrest attention did not originally belong to the language. It was the Bosjesman and the Hottentot who fixed this hook in the jaws of their Kaffir invader, that for all time out of his own mouth might be recorded and condemned the loss of home and country they suffered at his hands.

A noble savage.

Physically the Kaffirs are a fine race, muscular and well proportioned, their height averaging from five feet nine inches to five feet eleven inches or six feet. A German investigator makes the average height of the Kaffir 1·718 metres, of the Scot 1·710, of the Englishman 1·708. The hair grows in tufts, and the head, like the negro's, is long from back to front, but, unlike his, is also vertically long. The complexion is not black, but

bronze. From his lavish use of red ochre clay as a protection from insects, he is usually described as the red Kaffir—the bodies both of men and women shining



A RED KAFFIR.

like polished mahogany. Mark him as he strides across the "veldt," untrammelled by ungainly western garb, with his scarlet blanket or skin kaross falling in graceful folds from his broad shoulders, disdainful of any

burden save his long round-headed staff or knob-kerry, —a formidable weapon enough in case of need,—and you acknowledge in him a different style of man from the furtive Bushman or the gentle Hottentot. The Kaffir is semi-nomadic, with the wandering foot of a son of the wilderness. The government of the tribes, which has been handed down from generation to generation, is a patriarchal monarchy, controlled and regulated by a powerful aristocracy of councillors. The people are born lawyers. They have the true instinct of government, knowing both how to obey and how to command. There is not a man in whom the spirit of patriotism does not burn, or who is not loyal to his chief and tribe. For his chief he will steal, or lie, or submit to the greatest humiliation. In the war of 1877, when the Galekas were reduced to such straits that in their hunger they were eating the bark of trees, the British Government offered £1000, or five hundred cattle, for the apprehension of their chief, Kreli. But the Kaffirs preferred death to dishonour, and scorned the tempting bribe. Brave in presence of danger and death as Britain has found him to her cost, the Kaffir is not an ungenerous foe, and has even been known, it is said, to leave a few cattle after a foray, lest he should deal too hardly with his enemies. He has the savage virtues of hospitality and honesty, with a natural politeness and courtesy worthy of all imitation. Food is almost common property, and a trust is rarely if ever betrayed. A keen observer[1] puts the Kaffir in many respects next to the white man, though he denies him the love

[1] The Rev. Henry Calderwood, for many years a missionary of the London Missionary Society, and subsequently Civil Commissioner for the district of Victoria, in the Eastern Province of Cape Colony.

of truth, which is, or is supposed to be, the white man's most prominent characteristic. Possibly the Kaffir talks too easily to talk always with strict accuracy.

KAFFIR WOMAN AND CHILD.

Indeed, he lies and is not ashamed—not even when he is found out. The very children whom he loves he trains in cunning and deceit.

Entitled in some respects to rank among the noble

races of the world, the Kaffir is sunk in superstition. A noble savage, he is but a savage at the best. We see it in his treatment of woman. He is a polygamist whose wives, bought with cattle, are really, if not legally, the husband's chattels and drudges, doomed to "a dreary life of domestic slavery and thankless toil." His daughters who may remain unmarried are in a still more pitiable case. But for the toils of the women the land would have little cultivation. The lord and master is an idle man, whose chief employments in time of peace are "palaver" and the milking of the cows, which latter service he happily thinks too honourable to be entrusted to women. His recreations, in which he shows abundant activity, are dancing, the hunt, the fight, drinking, and worse things. "The Kaffir hut," says Tiyo Soga, "is a hotbed of iniquity." "Among the coast tribes," says Macdonald, "chastity can hardly be said to exist. Every wife of a polygamist has her lover." Over this animal life a traditional system of superstition, cruelty, and oppression casts its dark shadow. The warrior who will face a host trembles at the cry of an owl, and is the slave of the witch-doctor. The twilight of his windowless dwelling is but an emblem of the grosser gloom, intellectual and moral, that surrounds him. He breathes an atmosphere of suspicion and jealousy in which freedom cannot live. At the caprice of a chief or the envy of a neighbour he is liable to the miseries of a Kaffir "smelling out," to false accusation, confiscation, and murder. Cruel torture is not uncommon in the free life of the wilderness. Originality and progress are impossible under such conditions. A bright fellow is apt to be dubbed a wizard, and wizards are apt to die young: better then a wooden mediocrity and the survival of the commonplace.

The darker side.

The Kaffir's religion is a mixture of magic, mystery, and ancestral worship. He has apparently no sense of sin, no thought that links the state of the soul after death with conduct during life, no expectation of a resurrection from the dead. He has little if any conception of God, and to be without God is to be without hope. His present life is sketched in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans; the past is a tradition, the future all unknown

No God, no hope.

KRELI'S WITCH-DOCTOR.

CHAPTER III

YEARS OF WAR AND MISSIONARY TRIAL, 1821–1856

TEN years before the arrival of our pioneer missionaries, the colony had found itself involved in its first Kaffir War. The Kaffirs were the aggressors. The Gaikas of the Zuurveld, ignoring the boundary which had been fixed with their consent, crossed the Great Fish River, occupied the neutral territory, and raided the settlers' cattle. It was determined not only to drive them back, but, irrespective of an agreement apparently made with their chief, Gaika, whose name now appears for the first time in our story, to occupy the whole Zuurveld with white settlers. This might possibly have been done without bloodshed; but some one blundered, and war to the knife and without quarter followed, till the Kaffirs were finally driven beyond the river.

The First War, 1811-1812.

In 1817 the colonial governor, Lord Charles Somerset, under the impression that Gaika was chief-paramount of the Amaxosa, had made a new treaty with him, by which any Kaffir kraal harbouring stolen cattle was to be held responsible for the theft. By and by strange cattle were traced to the kraal of the real chief, Ndlambe, who repudiated responsibility, but was stripped by the search party of

The Second War, 1819.

all they could lay hands on. In revenge he attacked the Gaikas, and utterly routed them. The Government thinking it dutiful to come to the help of their new ally, seized some twenty-three thousand head of cattle. But after a brief interval the defeated Kaffirs swept suddenly down on the colony in force, under a prophet-chief, Makanna, attacked Grahamstown, April 22, 1819, and were only driven back and broken when every available colonist had been called into the field. As the result of this second war the country between Koonap Kat and the Great Fish River had been added to the colony, and the region up to the Keiskamma declared to be neutral ground. Such was the position when our first missionaries arrived.

The Glasgow Missionary Society.

The mission took its rise in the Glasgow Missionary Society, whose formation on the 9th February 1796 was one of the earliest indications that Scotland had caught the new missionary enthusiasm which marked the dawn of the nineteenth century. Undenominational in its constitution, both branches of our Church, Secession and Relief, were well represented in its management and membership. The story told in the yellow pages and faded ink of the old folio minute-books is not wholly a happy one. The first attempts in the untried field of foreign missions were only a succession of disappointments, and the Society's semi-jubilee year had well-nigh proved its last. A resolution to attempt work among the Kaffir tribes of South Africa saved it from this catastrophe. While it was thus preparing for work in Africa, a valuable agent, all unknown to himself and to the directors, had been preparing for its service. William Thomson, son of the teacher of Tarbolton, after a couple of sessions at the University of Glasgow, had

forsaken his studies, and thrown himself into business life in London. Here a sermon preached by the famous Alexander Fletcher, on the death of the missionary Vanderkemp, proved the turning-point of his life. He resolved to give himself to mission work in Africa, returned to Glasgow, and having completed his studies, was ordained on 23rd June 1821, and at once accepted by the Glasgow Missionary Society as its first missionary to the Kaffirs.

Accompanied by Mr. John Bennie as catechist, Mr. Thomson sailed for the Cape in the following April, and before the year closed the two pioneer missionaries were welcomed to the Chumie by the Rev. John Brownlee, of the London Missionary Society. After the death of the venerated Vanderkemp, on 15th December 1811, a Mr. Williams, sent out by the London Missionary Society, was located on the Kat River, near Fort Beaufort, but died after two years' earnest service. Some of the first converts baptized at the Chumie are said to have been among the fruits of his ministry. Mr. Brownlee, who followed him in 1820, well continued the missionary succession among the Gaikas, and has left a name still fragrant in South Africa. The settlement he founded had been sanctioned as a special favour by the Colonial Government, no other missionary being permitted at the time to enter Kaffraria. It is described by the late Rev. J. A. Chalmers, himself a son of the Chumie, as, in the heyday of its prosperity, a South African paradise, with its white cottages and octagon church nestling under the skirts of the Amatola Mountains, whose rocks and forest supplied a bold background to the softer charms of field and orchard and garden. A mountain stream—fit emblem of the living waters that welled

The Chumie.

forth from the humble sanctuary on its banks—added to the beauty and fertility of the station.

Ere long a serious illness compelled Mr. Brownlee to seek rest and change. After his recovery he resumed his closer connection with the London Missionary Society, and, returning no more to the Chumie, began a station on the Buffalo River, on the site of the present King William's Town.

On 16th December 1823 our little band of missionaries were gladdened by the arrival of the Rev. John Ross—father to be of sons who should inherit not only his name but his missionary enthusiasm and capability. He was the first to introduce the printing-press into the service of the mission. So eager were the brethren to avail themselves of this auxiliary that three days after his arrival fifty copies of the alphabet were thrown off, to be followed shortly by the Lord's Prayer, a vocabulary, Brown's Catechism, and some of the hymns translated into Kaffir by Mr. Bennie, the early poet of the mission.

New arrivals.

In 1824 the two ministers, with Mr. Bennie as ruling elder, formed themselves into the first Presbytery of South Africa. In this year, too, Mr. Ross and Mr. Bennie broke ground in the Ncera Valley, giving to the new station the name of Lovedale, in honour of the Rev. Dr. John Love, of Anderston, secretary of the Glasgow Missionary Society. When in 1835 this station was removed to a more favourable site, it carried with it this good name, and ultimately grew into the most important missionary institution in the colony.

There is little of importance to note till in 1827 we come to a name which during two generations was to be closely identified with the mission, and with our Church's interest in it. In that year Mr. William

Chalmers, of Glasgow, accompanied by his wife and two artisan missionaries, Mr. James Weir and Mr. Alexander M'Diarmid, arrived at the Chumie. All three proved themselves men of mark, and did worthily for Africa.

In 1830 Mr. Thomson became minister of the Dutch Reformed Church in the newly-settled district of Balfour on the Kat River, where, in the words of his friend, Mr. Robert Young, of Edinburgh, "he laboured with untiring energy and success till 1868, continuing to bring forth fruit in old age, till in 1891 he entered into the joy of his Lord."

After having worked for a time at Lovedale and Burnshill Mr. Chalmers, who received ordination in 1834, was left in sole charge of the Chumie station. The mantle of Brownlee sat well on the shoulders of the missionary through whom runs the line of our apostolic succession in South Africa. His days were a perpetual round of teaching and preaching; church and school under his wise direction going hand in hand in the good old Scottish fashion. The little sanctuary was girdled round with "kraal" schools, one named the "Mitchell," another the "Struthers," after well-known Glasgow divines who "rocked the cradle of the infant mission," and whose people provided the £ *s. d.* (£10 per annum) needed to furnish the young Kaffirs with their A B C. It was on the rude benches of "Struthers" school that a Kaffir lad, Tiyo, one of the many sons of Soga, a Gaika councillor, learned his English letters, and began a course which led him by swift stages to Lovedale, to Glasgow University and our Theological Hall, to ordination as a missionary to his countrymen, to a quiet grave at Tutura, and to a memory which our Church will not willingly let die.

The First Chalmers.

Peace, though always a troubled peace, reigned from 1820 till 1834, when a third and yet more sanguinary war broke out. It had been smouldering for years. The Kaffir relations with the new settlers were on the whole of a more friendly nature than had subsisted between them and their former neighbours the Boers—but encroachments

The Third War, 1834.

KAFFIR WOMEN WITH BASKETS.

on both sides, privileges given and withdrawn, indulgence alternating with severity, thefts followed by punishment, made it evident that the marches must soon be "redd" again, and with blood.

Macomo, a son of Gaika, had been allowed to settle on the Kat River, within colonial limits; but, proving a troublesome neighbour, had been ejected in 1829.

Proudly withdrawing to the country near the Chumie, he nursed his wrath and waited his opportunity. On the death of his father, and in consequence of the infancy of Sandilli, the heir to the chieftainship, Macomo (whose daughter afterwards taught in the London Missionary Society Institution for Girls at Peelton), became regent of the tribe. The spark for which both parties seemed to wait was struck when another brother of Macomo's was killed while resisting a Commando reprisal party; and on December 22, 1834, ten thousand fighting men spread themselves over the whole country, pillaging and burning the farmhouses, murdering all who resisted, and carrying off all the booty on which they could lay hands. Only the missionaries were left untouched.

Speedy punishment followed. Hintza, the chief-paramount of the Galekas from beyond the Kei, was defeated and slain; the Fingoes, of whom we shall hear more, were, to the number of sixteen thousand, settled in the Gaika country, at Peddie, on the eastern bank of the great Fish River, and the lands west of the Kei were declared to be a British province, though, through the conciliatory policy of Lord Glenelg, they were afterwards restored for a time.

In 1837 war broke out nearer home. The Voluntary Controversy sundered the parent missionary society into two camps, one of which, retaining the original name, adhered to the Established Church of Scotland, while our ecclesiastical fathers, under the title of the Glasgow African Missionary Society, assumed the direction of the two missionaries of the Relief Church—William Chalmers of Chumie, and young Robert Niven, who, after ordination in the Tron Church of Glasgow, had in 1836 opened a station on the Igquibigha River.

The Voluntary Controversy.

The division was an amicable one—each missionary being encouraged to make choice of the section to which he would adhere, and to continue to work in harmony with his brethren. There were now two standards; but both followed the cloudy and the fiery pillar which still went before them through the Kaffir wilderness; and though they are not yet openly one again, it becomes year by year more difficult and more needless to keep them apart.

Messrs. Ross, Bennie, Weir, and M'Diarmid remained with the Establishment, till in 1843 they cast in their lot with the Free Church of Scotland. Lovedale, and the other stations which had been under their care, passed beyond the control of our Church, though not beyond its sympathies. Mr. Bennie, who had been ordained in 1831, continued in the mission till 1850, when, on account of ill health, he accepted a call to a mixed congregation of Kaffirs and Hottentots at Middleburg. Mr. M'Diarmid, after working with Mr. Ross at Balfour and Pirie, was in 1852 ordained as missionary in charge of Macfarlan, the principal out-station of Lovedale. Good Mr. Weir, most lovable of men, survived as an octogenarian to regale the Synod's deputies in 1883, with stories of the good old times when a Kaffir would do more for a button than he will now do for a pound, and to warm their hearts with a missionary enthusiasm burning only the brighter after the service of more than half a century.

Twelve years followed of quiet plodding work. The Church's interest in its mission grew; and the ladies of Glasgow began those generous efforts which have done so much, and continue to do so much for the Christian education and training of Kaffir girls. In 1840 another missionary, the Rev. J. F.

Quiet years.

Cumming, still happily with us after more than a jubilee of service, was settled at Glenthorn; and Miss M'Laren began work at Igquibigha, where she taught till 1845. Early difficulties had been surmounted, the language was being acquired, three principal stations and two out-stations were occupied, modest churches and manses had been built, converts were being brought in, the confidence of the people had been gained, and all gave promise of more fruitful years, when suddenly, in 1846, the theft of an axe by one of Sandilli's men caused war to flame up again and desolate all Kaffirland.

It had been long in preparation. The colonists were worn out with the continued depredations of the Kaffirs; the Kaffirs were irritated by the sight of their fathers' lands melting away before the assumptions of the white men. It was in the month of March 1846 that the historic axe was stolen by an old Kaffir of Tola's tribe. He was on his way to Grahamstown under escort, manacled to a Hottentot prisoner, when the party was attacked by armed Kaffirs, who in their haste to free their man cut off the Hottentot's arm and left him to bleed to death. Tola refused to give up the thief, and Sandilli, now chief of the Gaikas, taking his part, war was declared, 31st March 1846, and raged during eleven bitter years.

The War of the Axe, 1846.

The missionaries were warned into the protection of Fort Armstrong on the Kat River. Mr. Niven was at home on furlough,—doing good work in stirring up the Churches,—but the Chalmers family, husband, wife, and eight children, made their way to the fort with nothing but the clothes they wore and a few blankets and mattresses. The military fort was over-crowded, and for eight months they lived outside the defences in a small cottage, roughly strengthened by the

soldiers. Lovedale was broken up and its pupils were scattered, Tiyo Soga, who was one of them, taking shelter with his mother, Nosutu, among the missionary refugees. The Chumie Mission was totally destroyed, the church and manse, with its precious library, were burned to ashes, the types of its printing-press turned into bullets, and the Bibles into wads for the guns of the Dutch boers, the book of life becoming thus a messenger of death. The one bright tint in the picture is supplied by the Christian fidelity of the converts, their orderly and peaceful behaviour, and their courage in standing by their teachers. It was indeed the missionaries who suffered most. Not of the war, they were in the heart of it, and had not only to endure hunger and peril in their rough shelter, but to bear the hatred of both the contending parties, especially of the colonists.

It was a year before the missionaries and their converts received permission to return to their homes. But homes they had none. The Chumie was a desolation; and Mr. Chalmers was indebted to the kindly hospitality of Mr. John Pringle—another of the old border Secession family—for shelter for his wife and children. He himself could not rest at Glenthorn, while his beloved station lay in ruins, and after brief absence he set out, with his eldest son, to rebuild its waste places. But the strong man's heart was broken, his strength gone. For a time he and the lad toiled at the ruin by day, and slept at night in a blanket beneath the shelter of a blackened wall; but dysentery set in, and, racked with pain, he regained the shelter of Glenthorn only to die. On the 8th February 1847, with the words of the twenty-third Psalm sounding on his ear, he passed into "the house of the Lord for ever." His bones rest at the

Death of Mr. Chalmers.

Chumie which he loved, and where he laboured for twenty years, till he died an old man at forty-five.

While war still threatened all around, Mr. Cumming, with the quiet fidelity to duty and indifference to personal danger which have marked him through life, took charge of the little flock that lingered in the neighbourhood of the Chumie, conducted their worship within the walls of the roofless church, and broke to them the sacramental bread.

At the close of the war the uncertain frontier was rectified once more. The colony was extended to the Orange River on the north, and to the Keiskamma on the east, from the sea to the junction of the Chumie River, and along that stream to its source; while British sovereignty was proclaimed from the Keiskamma to the Kei—the region between being named British Kaffraria, and reserved for the occupancy of the Kaffirs.

Sir Peregrine Maitland's testimony.

A gratifying testimony to the character of the Kaffrarian missionaries, and to the value of the work, was borne by the authorities at the close of this war. In a Government notice inviting them to return to their posts, the High Commissioner intimates that the lands to which their stations are attached will be held direct from the Queen; and that "every facility will be given and every aid afforded to the missionaries, conducive to the great object in view, namely, conversion to Christianity and civilisation"; and "these laudable gentlemen," as the High Commissioner quaintly terms them, are assured of his "utmost support and protection."

While war was still raging, the missionaries had agreed to send Tiyo Soga to Scotland under the care of Mr. Govan, founder of Lovedale, who desired that his promising pupil should have the benefit of a Christian

education in this country. His brave mother, Nosutu, Christian wife of a heathen councillor, whose tribe was even then in the field against the British, when asked if she would trust her son in the country of his father's foes, replied, "My son is the property of God, and when across the sea will still

Tiyo Soga visits Scotland.

KAFFIR WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

be in God's keeping." It was in this visit that John Street Church, Glasgow, made the young Kaffir their special charge, watching over his school life in the great city, till on 7th May, 1848, he was baptized under their own roof, and, by their own minister, Dr. William Anderson, was admitted into the fellowship of the Church.

At the happy union of the Secession and Relief Churches in 1847, the Kaffrarian Mission was adopted by the United Presbyterian Church. The Society which had so long and vigorously laboured on its behalf, handed over to our Mission Board a sum of £2000, collected for the restoration of property destroyed in the war, and for the further extension of the mission. In the following year the Rev. George Brown was ordained as missionary to Kaffraria, and after a voyage of three months, reached the Chumie in February 1849. The same ship brought back young Tiyo Soga, who had been accepted as a catechist, and was now duly appointed to the new station of Uniondale, in the heart of his native Amatolas, where he began his life of service to his countrymen as teacher and evangelist under Mr. Niven.

Union of 1847.

The young teacher found himself in a good school at Uniondale. Mr. Niven had proved himself from the beginning an able and successful missionary. He had diligently cultivated his linguistic gifts, had visited Holland before his ordination in order to acquire the Dutch language, and within a couple of years after his settlement at Igquibigha, was for all practical purposes master of the Kaffir tongue. His usual Sabbath work included four services, one in English, one in Dutch, and two in Kaffir. The latest Kaffir Hymn Book contains a score of hymns from his pen, one of which, "O Yehova Vuka," remains a standing favourite.

Uniondale took its name from the recent union of the Churches, in which our missionaries were deeply interested. It was beautifully situated near the junction of the Keiskamma and the Xgulu. Under Mr. Niven's energetic management, a schoolhouse, and subsequently a substantial stone church, were erected; a system of

irrigation was successfully introduced, to the astonishment and admiration of the Kaffir labourers; and schools, itineracy, and steady evangelistic work, were speedily in full operation.

Despite the hopes of peace now cherished, it soon became evident that new troubles were in store. The Gaikas fretted under what they regarded as the virtual deposition of Sandilli, and the planting of military villages in the valley of the Chumie. Early in 1850, the impostor Mlanjeni bewitched the Kaffirs by his sorceries, and fanned the embers of strife into a war which for bitterness and bloodshed eclipsed all that had gone before. There had been uneasiness for weeks, but the blow fell with savage suddenness. Four days after a conference with Sir Harry Smith at Fort Cox, the Kaffirs attacked a military reconnaissance, killing ten of the soldiers and capturing a quantity of ammunition. In the afternoon the soldiers encamped near Uniondale, and warned Mr. Niven of impending danger. Next morning dawned on the blackest Christmas Day in the history of the mission or of the colony. The Kaffirs attacked the military villages, massacred forty-five of the inhabitants who, from the contempt and roughness with which they treated the natives, had long been the objects of their bitter hatred, and at Auckland mingled the blood of the settlers with the Christmas feast they had been invited to share. Warned by one of the converts at the risk of his own life, Mr. Niven, with his delicate wife and young family, tramped on foot the twenty-five long miles to the Chumie, leaving Soga and the native elder Busak in charge of the station. In a few hours only a fragment of one gable was left to show where Uniondale church and manse had stood. One of the attacking

The Fifth War, 1851–53.

party distinguished himself by ripping up the missionary's big Bible with his assegai, exclaiming as he scattered the leaves to the winds, "There goes the thing with which Niven is always troubling us." At nightfall Soga set off through the bush in the track of the sorrowful missionary fugitives.[1] A sad company gathered for brief space under the shelter of the Chumie; but soon it was found prudent for the missionaries to remove to Philipton on the Kat River, on their way to the frontier, so as to make it clear to the colonists that they were not parties to the strife.

Mr. Renton's visit.

The Rev. Henry Renton, of Kelso, who had been sent out as the first deputy from the home Church, to advise and comfort the missionaries and their converts, arrived only in time to become partaker of their sufferings. In the enforced retreat from the Chumie, in the five dreary weeks during which he was shut up with them in Philipton, and in the noble stand he made at Grahamstown when maligned and mobbed by a section of the excited inhabitants, who falsely accused him, in common with his missionary brethren, of having been the cause of the Kaffir rising, Mr. Renton gave proof of the nobility of character and dauntless courage that ever distinguished him.

With the exception of the Christian converts, almost the whole of the Kaffirs took part in the war. Even the Hottentots joined in the desperate conflict, which raged for more than two years. Indeed it was not till March 23, 1853, that martial law was revoked. In the end, exhausted, impoverished, beaten, the tribes sued for peace. The Amatolas were for ever lost to the Gaikas; Kreli, their chief-paramount, was banished; and, torn

[1] Poor Busak lost his life in a vain attempt to protect the cattle of the master he subsequently found in the colony.

from their beloved mountains, they were removed into the flat woodless lands between the Keiskamma and the Kei.

Uniondale and Igquibigha had been turned into military posts, and the mission was forbidden henceforth to occupy any of its old stations. Mr. Niven, accompanied by Tiyo Soga, returned to Scotland. The missionary had strong faith in the future of Kaffraria, and in the young Kaffir

Dispersion of the Converts.

GRAHAMSTOWN.

who had worked by his side, and whom he had learned to love and trust. Were it for nothing else, Mr. Niven deserves the lasting gratitude of the Church for what he did at this time, on his own responsibility, in bringing Soga to this country, and thus securing to our mission one of its brightest ornaments. The young Kaffir, sad at heart for his country, had refused tempting offers to enter the service of the Government, setting his face steadfastly towards the ministry. He would beg his

bread from door to door, he said, rather than abandon the hope of preaching Christ to his heathen countrymen.

Mr. Cumming was unable for months to make his way to the coast, and did not reach London till the following May. It was his first and last furlough.

The native converts, despised and persecuted by their fellows, and left as sheep without a shepherd, betook themselves for safety to the mountain caves above the Chumie. Mrs. Chalmers, with a devotion akin to that of her lost husband, gathered the women and children into such shelter as she could provide—the men, as each Lord's Day came round, stealing down from the hills amid which they were hid, to unite with them in worship and prayers for peace. After passing with no small fortitude through many dangers and trials, the converts were gathered under the care of the Rev. Mr. Brownlee, at King William's Town, and ultimately to the number of one hundred and twelve, found shelter with their four elders in the friendly fold of Peelton, where good Mr. Birt, of the London Missionary Society, watched over them like a father.

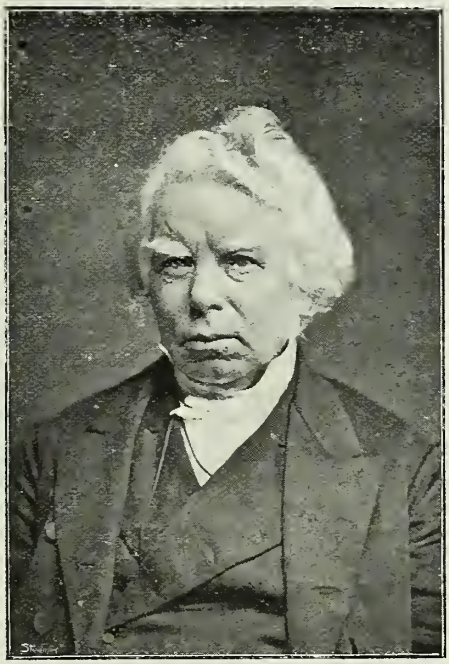
The Chumie, which had risen from the ashes of the War of the Axe, was a mission station no more. Mrs. Chalmers remained there till 1867, living in a cottage she had built near the abandoned station. The deputies of 1883 found her at Alice, where, under the pleasant shade of Lovedale, she spent the last twenty years of her life. When she died in 1887, full of years and greatly beloved, her sons laid her beside her husband, near the Gwali Stream: their honoured grave being now all that marks the site where once our earliest station flourished.

Last of the Chumie.

After an interval of many months, in which the future of the mission seemed to tremble in the balance, the

Synod of 1853 agreed that Mr. Niven should return to South Africa to report on the prospects of a new beginning. Mr. Cumming was permitted to accompany his friend, on condition that should no opening be found his engage-

Attempts at reconstruction.



REV. ROBERT NIVEN.

ment must end with the year. Mr. Niven's inquiries and interviews with Sandilli and his chiefs ended in failure. The tribe had not lost hope of return to their old haunts in the Amatolas, where they had water and game to the full. The very cattle, they said, still turned their heads

to the mountains, lowing night and morning for the rich pastures they had lost. The Gaikas would entertain no proposal that might be thought to bind them to their land of exile. Their utmost grace was to permit two of the native teachers, Dukwana and Tobé, to itinerate among them. Tembuland was visited, but the proposed new settlement there could not be carried out.

With this discouraging report as the best olive branch he could find, Mr. Niven came back to the home ark. In 1855 he accepted a call to a new church at Maryhill, near Glasgow, where he laboured with indefatigable industry and good success till his lamented death in 1877. He was not forgotten by his old converts in Kaffirland, some of whom sent a generous contribution towards the cost of his church. Four years before he entered into rest, he was cheered by evidence that the good work he had done in South Africa would live after him. Mr. James Davidson's earliest convert at Elujilo was an old, blind, but honourable councillor, Utiwezi, who ascribed his first convictions to Mr. Niven's ministrations of thirty years before. "Tell him," was his message to his old teacher, "I have not forgotten all he told us about God and His Son." Utiwezi was baptised as "Robert Niven."

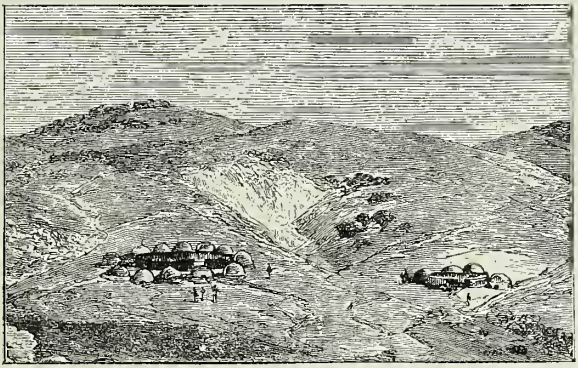
Mr. Cumming came back no more to Scotland. Finding an opening at Glenthorn, he renewed his African ministry there, among a polyglot people—Scots, Kaffirs, Hottentots—who in 1855 were duly formed into a church, with practically two congregations, white and coloured.

The Cattle-killing Delusion, 1856.

Still another and a wholly self-inflicted misery, was to fall on the crushed and broken Kaffirs. A second false prophet, Mhlakaza, worse than the first, arose in 1856, bringing, as he affirmed, a command from the chiefs in the unseen world, that the people should slaughter their cattle,

consume their corn, and leave the fields uncultivated, in order that in due time their forefathers might arise from the dead, when corn would grow of itself, cattle would spring out of the ground, and the Kaffirs of the past and present generations would live together in immortal youth.

The people were given up to believe the lie. Galekas and Gaikas alike fell into the snare. Kreli gave forth the word that the prophet should be obeyed; and in spite of the efforts of some of the chiefs and of Mr.



KAFFIR KRAALS.

Commissioner Brownlee, who moved heaven and earth to save the people, before February 8, 1857, the day set for the new resurrection, one hundred and fifty thousand head of cattle—cattle "which the Kaffir loves as the Arab loves his horse"—had been slain, and the untilled fields lay waste and barren.

The Rev. James Macdonald in his *Light in Africa*, graphically describes the closing scene of this tragedy.

Before the arrival of the eventful day, which happened to be the morning after full moon, solemn fasts, following a long

debauch, were appointed and observed. Every hill smoked with sacrifices offered to the ancestors, and, on the evening preceding the resurrection day, a solemn service was held under a hill near the mouth of the Great Kei River, at which tens of thousands of expectant men were present. The sign given by Mhlakaja was that on the morning succeeding the full moon, the sun was to rise double. During that memorable night not an eye closed. Young men feasted, drank, danced, and carried on high revelry, while the elders sat in silent groups, or walked anxiously about the huge fold prepared for the risen cattle of their chiefs. As the night wore on and all things remained silent and still, under the bright moon and feebly shining stars, the anxiety deepened, till the dawn of day proclaimed the sun's returning once more. As the king of day showed the edge of his disc above the horizon all eyes were turned to the east. Slowly and majestically he rose, but his expected companion lagged behind, and black fear entered the hearts which a little ago beat high with hope and expectation. Mhlakaza declared that they had mistaken the day of the full moon, and predicted triumph on the morrow. The next twenty-four hours was but a sad time. Such food as had not been destroyed was quite exhausted, and, as afternoon wore to evening, hunger reminded them of their possible plight should Mhlakaza's predictions prove false. But not a murmur was heard till once more the sun appeared in solitary majesty.

Time after time the day of resurrection and renewal was postponed, but not till the autumn of that dreadful year would the poor Kaffirs own that they had destroyed themselves. Famine and disease stalked through the land, and twenty thousand of the demented people were cut off in circumstances of misery which cannot be depicted. "Thousands of human skeletons," says Mr. Chalmers, "crept in bands, inch by inch, to the colony where food could be found; the highways were strewn with corpses, and the towns and villages overrun by dying men, women, and children." The climax was reached when the impostor himself, the cause of all this misery, died of the famine he had brought upon the land.

CHAPTER IV

YEARS OF RECONSTRUCTION, 1857–1878

THE dawn of brighter days appeared in September 1857, when the Revs. Robert Johnston and Tiyo Soga—two of the famous sevenfold band of ordained missionaries of the Church sent forth into the foreign field that year—led the little company of old converts and their families from their refuge at Peelton to a new home on the Emgwali stream; and Mr. Cumming ceased to be our solitary missionary in Kaffirland. Mr. Niven and Mr. Cumming had fixed longing eyes on the Emgwali three years before. Difficulties which then intervened seemed now to melt away, and, with the cordial consent both of Government and Gaikas, possession was obtained of the desired site.

Settlement of the Emgwali.

Intended at first to be nothing more than a shelter for the few Kaffirs already connected with the mission, it was saved from such restriction by the prompt action of the two young missionaries, and by the common sense of Sir George Grey, who, unable to see the utility of having a mission station without people, opened the Emgwali to all comers of whom the missionaries might approve.

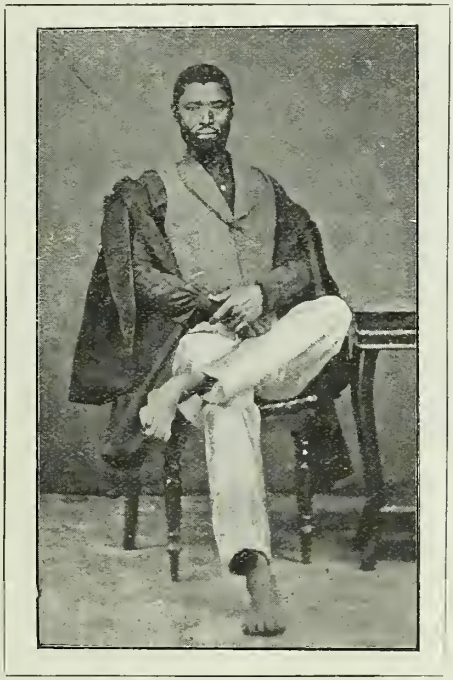
It may be conceived with what joy the two missionaries returned from their interview with the governor.

They had everything to do, and were ready to do everything. It was not a manse for their own shelter they were to set up, or a church in which to garner the remnants of the past; they were laying the foundations of a new mission, and nothing seemed too hard for them. Spiritual work and manual labour went hand in hand. Their architect forsook them, and his duties were added to the rest. Materials were abundant for the two small cottages and the miniature church—for all were to be built of that famous colonial product "wattle and daub" (sticks and mud). "Brother Johnston" was painter, and "Brother Soga" glazier.

In six months the buildings were completed, and amid such demonstrations of tearful joy as had not been witnessed in Kaffirland for years the little flock gathered into a sanctuary of their own, ate of the one bread, and drank of the one cup common to all Christ's sacramental host, and sang once more the old Chumie communion hymn. The outside Kaffirs soon showed their appreciation of the little church in the wilderness; and the famine-swept district, lately the haunt of wolf and vulture, became a centre of new life and hope to thousands.

The two "brothers" did not long dwell together. The congregation of Trinity Church, Grahamstown, called Mr. Johnston to be their minister, and by the autumn of 1859 Tiyo Soga was left in sole charge. None shared with him the honour of replacing with a more adequate edifice the first poor church, which soon became too small for the worshippers. His first subscriber was Sandilli himself, with an offer of 5s. a month. The colonists, too, responded generously to the appeal of the first Kaffir minister, who two years before had startled their notions of propriety, but

who was already making his influence powerfully felt. Prince Alfred, in whose train he had by special request accompanied Sandilli to Cape Town, procured a Government grant of £50, which in spite of some Voluntary qualms was not returned, any more than the handsome



SANDILLI.

Bible with which the prince accompanied the gift, or the pulpit cushion brought from Cape Town for the admiration of all Kaffir beholders.

The year 1861 was notable for more than the found-

ing of the new church. In a thatched cottage hard by, Miss Ogilvie opened the girls' school, with an attendance of sixty-six; and the missionary was made glad by the arrival of his lifelong friend, John A. Chalmers. The memory of "Struthers" School was renewed when Mr. Chalmers was ordained in Anderston Church, Glasgow, and the sons of those who had sent out his father undertook the support of this son of the old Chumie manse.

The Girls' School.

The 15th of June 1862, when the new church was opened, was a great day at the Emgwali. The Gaika Commissioner[1] himself presided; Mr. Govan, Soga's Lovedale teacher, came to rejoice with the Kaffir lad he had done so much to form; while old Mr. Brownlee rode thirty miles from King William's Town to take part. The church, accommodating six or seven hundred people, cost only £1465, of which the missionary had raised £600 by his own personal efforts. It stands to this day, the modest cathedral church of our mission, and Tiyo Soga's best material monument. The speeches of some of the natives who contributed to the opening collection have been preserved. Pinda, a Lovedale man, gave 10s., exclaiming: "Such a house was never built before by a Gaika." Pita said: "I am a child, an atom, a poor man of the great place, but it was said anyone might say his say—I give 15s." Ntusi: "I weep that I cannot enough show my gratitude—I give £2." Klaas, from the Bolo: "I have come to thank God, I give a *capatar* (he-goat)." One dearly loved was absent. Young Mrs. Chalmers, the beloved daughter of the late Professor Lindsay, had watched with eager sympathy the building grow from week to week, while her own earthly house faded yet

The Church opened.

[1] Son of the Rev. William Brownlee.

more swiftly away. She was not spared to join in the congratulations of the day.

In the following year the leaky hut in which, sadly to the detriment of his health, Soga had lived till now, was replaced by the commodious manse which still stands, though with many additions, under the shadow

THE EMGWALI MANSE.

of the tall eucalyptus trees of his planting. Here Dr. Duff, the famous Indian missionary, found, as he says, "the first native Kaffir ordained minister of the everlasting gospel, in his own comfortable manse, close to a spacious and well fitted-up church, and surrounded by Kaffir kraals, partly Christian and partly heathen, a spectacle worth while travelling from Cape Town to witness." Dr. Duff was no less favourably impressed with Mr. Chalmers, and in bearing his emphatic testimony to the mission, adds, "A nobler pair of missionaries it would be difficult to meet

Dr. Duff's Tribute.

with. I scarcely know which of them to admire most."

Before Dr. Duff's visit Mr. Chalmers had thrown himself into the front of the fight with heathenism, opening a station of his own on the Thomas River, about a day's journey to the north: his first church, the shade of a mimosa tree — his manse, a Kaffir hut. He called the new station Henderson, in honour of Mr. John Henderson of Park, for many years chairman of the Foreign Mission Board.

Henderson Station.

The vacant place by Tiyo Soga's side was well filled in 1864 by the Rev. John Sclater, who was accompanied by his sister. The membership at the Emgwali increased in numbers, and grew in purity. Among the women a spirit of inquiry showed itself. At Glenthorn Mr. Cumming was cheered by many accessions, and by more precious signs of grace; and at Henderson Mr. Chalmers forgot the hardships of the first days when the rains swept through the hut where he sat, wet and hungry, with the hand of the Lord heavy upon him.

Years of increase.

Early in 1865 a new field opened. Kreli and his Galekas were permitted to return from their exile beyond the distant Bashee River, to occupy a part of the Transkeian territory, which had belonged to them before its forfeiture in 1853. The remainder of his country was given to the Fingoes. These were broken remnants of tribes, who, fleeing as *amamfengu*, or wanderers, from Zululand, in the wars of Chaka and Dingan, had found safety and slavery among the Gaikas and Tembus, till, in the troubled years between 1830 and 1857, they passed in numbers into the colony as keepers of cattle and tillers of the

Crossing the Kei.

ground. Many had become Christians, and though civilisation had made them acquainted with one of its colonial specifies, Cape brandy, which prevented their growing too rich or living too long, they increased and multiplied. By this time their bounds had become too strait for them, and they gladly caught at the offer of Government lands in the Transkei. From the Emgwali alone five chiefs with their people, including nearly one-third of the whole membership, crossed into this new Fingoland. Here they shook themselves free from the drink traffic, and, as Mr. Macdonald says, "entered on a career of material progress and moral development unparallelled in the history of any other African tribe." It was evident that the missionaries must follow; Kreli, too, was prepared to welcome a teacher. With fraternal good sense the two presbyteries of the United and Free Churches, after many inspections of the new territory, made an amicable division of it. The Free Church planted its first new station at Toleni, and the Mbulu Fingoes, though many of them had been attached to Free Church missions in the south, fell to us with the full consent of their spiritual fathers.

The Mbulu founded.

In the spring of 1867 Mr. Selater and his sister followed the Fingoes across the lovely valley of the Kei, and settled at the now famous station on the Mbulu River, some thirty miles from the Emgwali. Six chiefs and their dependants gave them welcome, and forty-nine old members were found scattered through the district. No better description of Mr. Selater's methods could be given than in the words of a brother missionary of the Free Church.

From his principal centre he made short journeys in his waggon, which served both as a means of conveyance and as a

dwelling. These journeys extending to ten, fifteen, or twenty miles, usually occupied eight to ten days. Halts were made at the larger villages, and services were held. A centre was also chosen in connection with each circuit, and there the missionary remained stationary for several days or even weeks. These centres gradually grew into out-stations, and his visits began to be looked forward to as regular events. In this way he made the acquaintance of a large number of people, and the prejudice against himself and the message he bore was gradually overcome. A school was opened and taught by a native Christian. Classes were conducted during the week by the missionary for adult inquirers, and audiences were given to all and sundry who came to him, no matter what their object.

For months Mr. Sclater preached at the head station under the shade of a big thorn tree; then a hut was set up, followed by the first church at the foot of the hill. As the work prospered in his hands he recalled youthful days at Kirkwall, and the mission work of the noble old Secession "Bishop of the Orkneys," under whom he had been trained, and after whom he gave the Mbulu its new name of Paterson.

In connection with this station the mission received assistance of an unusual kind from Major Malan, a grandson of Dr. Cæsar Malan, whose deep convictions of spiritual realities and of a present living Christ he largely inherited. When in garrison with his regiment, the 75th Infantry, at King William's Town, he had taken part in the opening of the new church at Paterson, 9th January 1872. He found two hundred converts gathered out of a population of seven thousand heathen. The church had cost £150, and the last portion of the debt was cleared off on the opening day—some of the "red blankets" joining their gifts to those of the Christian Kaffirs. This scene and all he saw in the Transkei made a deep impression on the Christian soldier, who soon afterwards, under the con-

Major Malan.

straint of duty, retired from the army, and for years rendered valuable service to the mission. In Mr. Sclater's absence on furlough, in 1873, he took charge of the station, and founded Uxolo, eight miles south of the Bashee. Here he placed Mr. Quince R. Noble, whom, with two other young men, he had brought from Scotland at his own charges. Major Malan received the thanks of Synod when present in court, May 1874; but he found his most precious recompense in many who were brought to the Saviour during the revival days that crowned his fruitful ministry among the Kaffir tribes. In his death, May 17, 1881, the Church lost one who had served her well.

Mr. Sclater's place at the Emgwali was taken by Mr. James Davidson, who now, after a ministry of four years at King William's Town, volunteered for work wholly among the Kaffirs, in which he continues to this present. He was soon left alone at his new station. The Conference of Missionaries could no longer delay to occupy the Galeka country, and resolved to send thither two of their best men to work for a time in company. Those chosen were Mr. Govan of Lovedale and Tiyo Soga. The result of their inquiries was a call from the Conference to Mr. Soga to become first missionary to Kreli and his people at the Tutura, the great chief joining his entreaties to the man whom he knew and trusted. With the unselfishness and devotion to duty which distinguished him, Mr. Soga gave up his happy home, and the Christian atmosphere and cherished work of the Emgwali, to accept this gospel call to outpost and pioneer duty, under the shadow of blackest heathenism. It was a matter of course that he should go. "A missionary," he would say, "has no home here. When health permits he must

Tiyo Soga's work at Tutura.

be ready to serve where duty calls." On the 4th of June 1868 he left the Emgwali,—not to return,—to the deep regret both of Europeans and Kaffirs, to whom he had ministered during ten laborious and fruitful years.

TIYO SOGA, ÆTAT 28.

The red Kaffirs round Tutura responded to the appeal made to them by Soga's coming, and more heathen crowded to service than he had ever seen at the Emgwali. He was well supported by a new colleague, the Rev. William Girdwood (formerly of Penicuik and

Perth), who at his earnest request was appointed to be his helper. Mr. Girdwood's medical skill—with which he still does the mission good service—soon won the heart of Krcli's prime minister, whom he cured of an obstinate disease, and the mission grew in favour. The Sabbath was respected throughout the ten-miles circuit visited by the missionaries and their three evangelists—Festiri (Tiyo Soga's brother), Jan. Boy, and Xinti. But, as might be expected, the actual membership continued small — only eighteen native Christians; and in the report for 1870—the last he was to write—Mr. Soga makes the sad entry, "No addition during the year." He was not to see the days of ingathering, for which he sowed the seed, and which were not far away. In the eighteen months after his death, more Kaffirs and Fingoes joined the Transkei churches than during six years before.

Tiyo Soga's work was almost done, but before he left us he had the joy of seeing yet another church for which he had toiled—the first Galeka church—consecrated with prayer and thanksgiving to the service of God. On Sabbath, 16th April 1871, a day of perfect summer beauty, the little company worshipped at sunrise for the last time in the hut which for two years had served as the Tutura church, that, as one of the Kaffirs said, they might not fail to "take with them the blessing of the old house into the new." The dedication services were conducted by Soga's close friends, Bryce Ross, who came a hundred miles from Pirie; John A. Chalmers, from the Gaika country eighty miles away; and Mr. Sclater, his next-door neighbour at the Mbulu, only twoscore miles distant. At the Wednesday feast which followed, the remaining debt on the modest edifice (forty feet by twenty), whose entire cost was only £52, 19s. 6d., was

swept away with great rejoicings—two of the Emgwali elders coming with an offering which Soga likened to that "from an elder to a younger sister on her marriage day."

Death of Tiyo Soga.

Such was our Kaffir missionary's bright farewell to public service. Straight from this earthly house which he had built he was to pass into a building of God, not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. Death had touched him, though he knew it not. He was busy to the last, but saw the faces of his brethren no more. He was unable to join them in their conference at King William's Town, or to attend a meeting of the Bible Revisers, to whom he sent his MS. translation of Acts xiv. to xxiii. After verse twenty-fifth, in the last chapter, he had written in Kaffir, "Strength has failed me." He died on the 12th of August 1871, in the arms of Richard Ross, his old Lovedale schoolfellow and brother missionary.

The story of Tiyo Soga's life and ministry has been well told by his friend Chalmers, who in 1888 joined him on the farther shore. Soga was a ripe theologian, an evangelistic missionary with no superior in the annals of our Church. As a translator he has left his mark on the Kaffir version of Holy Scripture, and in his forceful, brilliant rendering of the Pilgrim's Progress, a marvel of accuracy and lucidity of expression, he has given to the literature of his people an enduring Christian classic. The thought of him recalls a charming personality, a strong character beautified by gentleness, a warrior heart that never knew fear or shame, a pure and child-like spirit. His passionate loyalty to his Lord had its earthly counterpart in an unswerving devotion to the race from which he sprang, whose noblest qualities he

embodied, whom he loved with an intense patriotism, and for whose sake he laid down his life.

On the east wall of the Emgwali church, above the pulpit, is fixed a tablet, the gift of Mr. Whyte Millar, of Edinburgh, bearing in Kaffir an inscription written by Dr. William Anderson, which may well find a place in this record. It runs thus :—

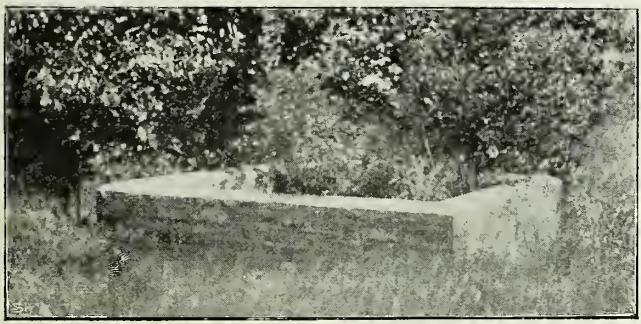
This Stone is to keep us in Remembrance of

THE REV. TIYO SOGA,

The first ordained Preacher of the Kaffir race.

He was a friend of God ; a lover of His Son ; inspired by His Spirit ; a disciple of His Holy Word ; an ardent patriot ; a large-hearted philanthropist ; a dutiful son ; an affectionate brother ; a tender husband ; a loving father ; a faithful friend ; a learned scholar ; an eloquent orator ; in manners a gentleman ; a devoted Missionary, who spent himself in his Master's service :

A MODEL KAFFIR.



TIYO SOGA'S GRAVE, TUTURA.

During the years between the opening of the Transkei and the disastrous tribal war of 1877, the mission received many accessions and saw many changes. Mr. Cumming had been transferred in 1868 to the charge of the Emgwali, in which he continued till his retirement from the active ministry. Mr. Girdwood had founded the new station of Quolora, where his fame as a physician drew patients from all Fingoland, till the close of his first term of service, when the station was committed to a young missionary, the Rev. R. S. Leslie, who had spent his early months in Kaffirland, at Henderson. Quolora was in 1874 given to the Rev. John Dewar, who in the previous year had joined the mission. From the beginning it proved to be stony ground. The old chief, Mapassa, next in importanee to Kreli, was a slave to the witch-doctor, while his people were noted beer-drinkers. In 1875 both church and manse were destroyed by a tempest.

Accessions and Changes.

Another new station, Elujilo, was opened, under Mr. James Davidson, in the same year with Quolora. Here the people were more responsive, and the Mbulu methods of itinerating over a wide district produced good fruit. But, in 1876, Mr. Sclater having accepted a call to Coupland Street Church, Manchester, Mr. Davidson relinquished this post in favour of the Rev. James M. Auld who had just arrived, and removed to Paterson, where he still remains, a veteran with the heart of perennial youth. In this same year another heavy loss befell the mission, in the acceptance by Mr. Chalmers of a call from the same church at Grahamstown, which in 1859 had taken Mr. Johnstone from our roll of missionaries. The Rev. Thomas Shearer joined the mission in 1874, and, succeeding Mr. Leslie and Mr. Dewar, began at

Glenthorn an earnest and laborious ministry. A profitable connection was formed during this period with two colonial churches—that of Adelaide, which in 1870 was received as a mission station under charge of its minister of nine years' standing, the Rev. Peter Davidson; and that of Somerset East, whose minister, the Rev. William Leith, undertook charge of the neighbouring mission station of Glenavon.

The Sixth War, 1877.

In twenty years the almost extinguished mission, to whose rescue Tiyo Soga and Robert Johnston came in 1857, had by the divine blessing grown till it numbered eleven chief stations and about thirty out-stations, among the Gaika, Galeka, and Fingo tribes on both sides of the Kei—with a staff including nine European missionaries and a considerable number of native evangelists and teachers. In spite of trial and disappointment it was now a well-established mission, enjoying the full sympathy and confidence of the Church, and equipped for yet larger service, when in a moment, as it seemed, the tribal war of 1877, happily the last we have to chronicle, gave a sudden blow to this hopeful condition of things, and changed well-nigh the whole aspect of the mission.

The Gaikas and Galekas, who had long looked with a jealous eye on the prosperity of their former slaves, the Fingoes, were ready to seize every occasion of quarrel; and if any lagged or wearied, the taunts of the women spurred them to the field. Cattle raids on both sides led to the interference of the British Government in support of the more docile and loyal Fingoes. The imperial troops suffered temporary defeat, but the disturbance was speedily put down. Severe punishment followed. The Galekas were scattered, and their country was annexed to the Colony. Sandilli fall-

ing in battle as a rebel, his whole country was confiscated and sold as farms. One loyal portion of the tribe, under Chief Fynn, grandson of Gaika, was deported across the Kei into half the territory formerly occupied by the Galekas; and 25,000 Galekas were allowed to settle down in the other half, while Kreli himself, with about 2000 followers, was banished beyond the Bashee.

CAPE-CART.

The Mission stunned.

Though, compared with the earlier Kaffir wars, the affair of 1877 was but a tribal quarrel, its results were disastrous to the mission, which found itself in the thick of the fight. James Davidson, though Paterson was within a few hours' march of both the hostile forces, stuck to his post through all the war—as did his Free Church neighbour, Richard Ross of Cunningham—and escaped without damage. But the houses and stations of four missionaries

were plundered and made desolate. Among the Gaikas, Elujilo was reduced to ashes; and Henderson, which Mr. Lundie was about to occupy, was laid in ruins. In Galekaland, the Quolora, Uxolo, and Tutura, with all their out-stations, were destroyed. In buildings alone the loss was nearly £4000. Three missionaries thus dispossessed were lost to the mission. Mr. Quince Noble took service in Jamaica, where he still diligently labours; Mr. Dewar accepted a call to a new colonial charge at Tarkastad; and Mr. Leslie, the beloved missionary of the Galekas, after brief interval, died at the Emgwali. Glenthorn, Somerset East, and Adelaide escaped—though the war raged within three hours of Mr. Shearer's station. Of the frontier stations, only the Emgwali and Paterson survived.

CHAPTER V

YEARS OF PROSPERITY AND EXPANSION, 1879–1894

The Emgwali

We come now to indicate briefly the course of later years, years happily of continuous prosperity and advance. Since 1857, when the tribes, scattered and peeled by war and disaster, first gathered round the Emgwali, it had been a city of refuge both to missionaries and people, and again in 1878 they fled to it till the new storm should spend itself. The Government recognised its value as a rallying point for loyal Kaffirs, by increasing its territory from five thousand to eleven thousand acres.

The Mother Station.

Seated in the bosom of gently-swelling hills, treeless, and for the most part of the year clad in russet,—though Major Malan, who saw it in early summer, likens it to a diamond set in bright green velvet—its five Kaffir villages clustering round the central plateau on which stand the neat church and the home-like manse, with its garden bearing all manner of fruits,—the Emgwali will ever be associated with names and memories historic in the annals of the mission. Here Soga laboured during the years of his prime. Here Leslie died. In the rough

vestry at one end of the church, Chalmers and his young bride-wife lived the few months they were together, and in the cemetery hard by he laid her in her early grave. Here Mr. Cumming for eighteen years kept open house for all comers, counselled the younger brethren, and tended his flock with the quiet confidence of them that wait upon the Lord, and the shrewd common-sense which does not always come with missionary or any other ordination. Here, too, notable men and women of the Kaffir race have shown their devotion to a nobler chief than their fathers followed. Men like Nikani, type of the quiet God-fearing evangelist; Zazé Soga, still labouring at Tutura; Tobé Undayi, who, converted at the Chumie under a searching word from the first Chalmers, worked with the son of his old missionary through the hard days at Henderson, and ended here, in August 1890, his long course of faithful service as elder and evangelist.

Of the Kaffir women associated with the Emgwali may be named Nosutu, one of the first converts of the Chumie, and mother of Tiyo Soga, who indeed saved him for the Church, doing much more for her boy than gather, as she used to tell, the sneeze-wood torches, by which he conned his lesson in the Kaffir hut of his youth. Here the deputies of 1883 found Nosutu's daughter Tausé, whose record is that, when but a girl, her promptitude and courage turned aside a treacherous assegai which threatened the life of good Mr. Niven, her spiritual father. Nor must mention be omitted of old Sutu, the *inkosikazi*, or great wife, of Gaika, and mother of the unstable Sandilli. Like many others, seeking at the Emgwali only safety from threatened danger, she found here Him who is the Refuge for the oppressed, a Refuge

Godly Kaffir women.

in times of trouble. Mr. Carstairs tells how he and his fellow-deputies interviewed her in her bare hut, where Kamé, her faithful Kaffir Deborah, a maid of seventy, still waited on a mistress of ninety years. Husband, children, authority, sight, Sutu had lost them all; but she had found Christ, and in the thought of

TAUSÉ SOGA AND HER FAMILY.

what she had found, the memory of all that she had lost, she said, had faded away. "And what have you to tell about Him?" asked the deputy. A pause, and then came the words, perfect in simplicity and fitness, "I love Him." There was a lady with the gift of song in the little company, and under her lead the strangers sang the "bairns' hymn"—"There is a happy land, far,

far away." As they sang, the stoicism of the old chieftainess melted in a flood of tears. "I cannot sing," she sobbed, "but my heart sings." Two years thereafter the blind eyes saw the King in His beauty, and the voice that could not sing found its music in the song of the redeemed.

Mr. Stirling.

The Rev. John W. Stirling was appointed to the Emgwali in 1882 as colleague to Mr. Cumming, beginning housekeeping with his young wife in the same uncomfortable quarters where Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Chalmers had found lodgment twenty-one years before. Here Mr. Stirling gained the familiarity with the language and the practical experience which prepared him in 1886 to carry the gospel into regions beyond, in the distant valley of the Sulenkama.

Mr. Cumming.

In the same year Mr. Cumming, at the age of seventy-eight, retired to seek a well-earned repose, his withdrawal closing a notable record of forty-seven years' service. He had passed through the wars of 1846, 1851, and 1877, with a calm trust and steadfast adherence to duty which won the confidence alike of colonist and Kaffir. When war raged round the Waterkloof, his place of retreat near the Mankazana was well known to Macomo; but the great Kaffir chief, as his friend found long afterwards, had given his red warriors charge not to molest "our Gaika teacher." This venerable missionary celebrated his jubilee in 1889, the occasion revealing the honourable place he had gained in the respect of the Mission Board, and the affection of his brethren. With his devoted wife—a Pringle of Glenthorn—he still lives in the enjoyment of a hale old age.

The empty place at the Emgwali was filled by the appointment of the Rev. Alexander Welsh, who had

joined the mission two years before. Under his superintendence the station is renewing its youth. The church has been repaired and beautified, and, better still, times of revival have visited the people; the empty seats of those who have crossed the Kei are filling up with new converts, the membership at the close of 1893 being over three hundred, with eighty candidates for church fellowship.

Mr. Welsh.

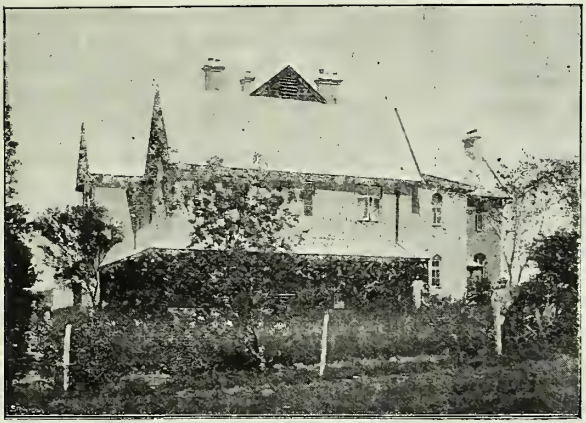
An important and attractive feature of the work at the Emgwali is the Girls' School of the Ladies' Kaffrarian Society. Originating in Glasgow in the year 1839, the first efforts of the Ladies' Association were made at Igquibigha, the Rev. Robert Niven's station, where Miss M'Laren laboured from 1840 to 1845. After a long interval—the institution sharing the interruptions common to South African missions — it was removed to the Emgwali in 1861, under the charge of Miss Ogilvie, a niece of Mr. Niven, whose term of laborious and faithful service extended over eighteen years. On Miss Ogilvie's retirement in 1880, she was succeeded by Miss M'Ritchie, who again in 1887 gave place to the present admirable superintendent. Miss Hope is a great favourite with the girls, and under her control the best traditions of the past are being fully maintained. A daughter of Tiyo Soga did good work here, till her health giving way in 1893 compelled her return to Scotland.

The Girls' School.

For more than fifty years the ladies have made the school their charge, till it now takes rank among the important Kaffir training institutions of the colony. Nine years ago new buildings were provided at a cost of £3500, but even these soon proved inadequate, and new class-rooms were added in 1891. "The buildings,"

THE EMGWALI GIRLS.

says Mr. Buchanan, "form an imposing structure, and supply dormitory accommodation for seventy-five girls, besides class-rooms, hall, and teachers' apartments. About 150 Kaffir girls and maidens are under instruction, of whom over seventy are boarders. The value of such an institution cannot be questioned." Six of the girls are now teaching in the boys' school. But the institution is more than a school—more even than a Normal



THE GIRLS' SCHOOL, EMGWALI.

School for training teachers. It is a big Christian home whose aim it is to bring Kaffir maidens under such lasting impressions of domestic sanctities and sacred influences as may be reproduced by and by in homes of their own. If Kaffraria is to be lifted out of heathenism, it must have Christian wives and mothers, and these the girls' school of the Emgwali is well fitted to supply.

The Mbulu or Paterson

In 1866 Mr. Sclater built the little hut in which the worship of the living and true God was first set up in the valley of the Tsomo. Paterson is beautiful for situation, gladdened by a southern aspect, and set amid an amphitheatre of hills, low lying "like a heart of sweet desires." The tribes do not go up but down to it; and it is a fair sight on a Communion Sabbath morning to watch the people appearing first on the sky-line far above and then threading the bush on their gladsome way to church. The district occupied lies foursquare, forty miles each way, with a population of twenty thousand Fingoes, the most susceptible to the gospel of all the Kaffir tribes. A servant of servants has the Fingo been to his brethren, but in Christ's kingdom the last is first, and he here easily takes a place which the prouder Gaika or Galeka reaches only with a struggle.

Mr. James Davidson has been identified with this station since 1876. When he came to it the twoscore members with whom Mr. Sclater began the mission ten years before had become well-nigh three hundred, and now the membership is over seven hundred, with two hundred and fifty candidates. Climbing the wall of hill that shuts it in, Mr. Davidson, like Mr. Sclater before him, has visited the villages for miles round, by degrees founding out-stations in every quarter. The kraal-going missionary has made a kirk-going people. At Incisininde, Lutuli, Xolobe, Esigubudweni, and Matinjini, are found organised congregations, which, like the mother church itself, send back across the heathen darkness the light that lightens every man that cometh into the world. The

Mr. James Davidson.

eight-and-twenty ploughs, seen by one visitor to Lutuli, turning the barren waste into a fruitful field, are but an emblem of the spiritual husbandry of which Paterson is the centre. The water-course which irrigates its orchard and brings fertility into the maize patches of the native families, fitly images the living waters which have turned the surrounding wilderness into a fruitful field. Fifty voluntary workers, including six-and-twenty elders and four deacons, are at work Sabbath after Sabbath, and many of them on week-days too, breaking up the fallow ground on which a spiritual harvest begins to wave with prosperous fruit like Lebanon. Mr. Davidson's report for 1893 tells of the baptism at one service of eighty-five persons, of whom more than half were adult converts from heathenism.

A Model Station.

Prayer and pains go hand in hand at Paterson. The deputies of 1883 record that their last glimpse of it showed the women on their way to morning prayer. Out of the Women's Thursday prayer-meeting, held in each friendly kraal by turns, originated the station of Matinjini, twenty-eight miles distant, the women going eight miles from their own village under their leader "Eliza" to this outlying kraal, till they won a new out-station for the Church. Mr. Davidson pays great attention to the training of the young. His eight day-schools, with their fifteen teachers and five hundred scholars, are famous in the Transkei. Some of his pupils have done him special credit. In 1887 a son of Teacher Fumba carried off the honours in a Government examination open to all the natives of the colony.

Paterson has had its trials. It early lost its founder; in 1881 the new church and school were struck by lightning and consumed; in 1885 the church at Esigu-

budweni was burnt to the ground just when it was ready to be opened; while in the same year two hundred members left the district, and the schools were almost emptied. But its trials have been blessed, and now in common with other sister stations it is rejoicing in promise of yet better things to come.

Mrs. Forsyth.

Mr. Davidson has found a noble helper in Mrs. Forsyth (formerly Miss Moir), who since 1886 has devoted herself and her means to the evangelisation of the Kaffirs of the Upper Xolobe, a rude and rough people, who settled in this valley some years ago. The story of her work and life among these children of the mountains reads like a romance. At first regarded with suspicion, her unselfish interest in their welfare, her courage and trustfulness—one solitary loving woman among a tribe of savages—have won their hearts, and now she dwells among them as a queen. She has built a modest dwelling and a little chapel-school, where the children love to gather, and their fathers and mothers to worship. In the school she has some sixty pupils, and in all about one hundred and seventy have passed through her hands. Forty have professed their faith in Christ, of whom the larger proportion have been admitted to the fellowship of the Church. Mr. Buchanan, who visited the valley in 1892, thought Mrs. Forsyth and her work the most remarkable sight he had seen in his South African travels. May this brief reference draw out more prayer on behalf of a Christlike worker, and lead some to imitate and share her service! The Greenock Ladies' Kaffrarian Society have for years supported Mrs. Forsyth's native helper, Emily Ntintili. They have recently presented the station with excellent buildings erected at their cost; and are now (1894) sending

out Miss Isabella Lamb to work along with Mrs. Forsyth.

Columba

In 1879 a forward step was taken in the opening of the new station of Columba, beyond the Kentani Hill, and almost within sound of the beat of the Indian Ocean. Here, the Rev. James M. Auld, whose fiery baptism in the mission had already been received at Elujilo, found new scope for the ardent missionary spirit which impelled him from the outset of his theological studies to consecrate himself to the foreign field, and to that section of it specially dear to the branch of the Church which his father and grandfather served through two long generations. He found a site for his station on a peninsula formed by the windings of the Kobnaba River, and here built himself a wattle and daub manse, which contrived to stand, though not in a very upright attitude, till the deputies of 1883 were received beneath its kindly, if somewhat leaky roof. The Gaika people gave him cordial welcome, men and women working with their own hands in the building of a brick church which, blown down when all but completed, was set up again in 1880—twice built without help from the Board. Here Mr. Auld continues to labour in a difficult country and among a somewhat difficult people. The country, all up hill and down dale, scarred by ravines and rivers, tries the temper and patience of the traveller ; and labour among the people is also uphill work. The Gaikas are proud and need tender handling. They were foremost in the many bitter wars that have swept across Kaffirland. They tested and learned to despise the civilisation of the old colonial days. And if they have yielded, when

beaten, to force of arms, and all too easily to the seductions of the white man's brandy, they show all their racial stubbornness when resisting the overtures of the gospel. The red clay is hard to dig. But patience is having its perfect work. Services are now held at a dozen centres, two new evangelists are at work, and one by one souls are added to the little Church and to the missionary's crown.

Malan

Mr. Auld's settlement at Columba was soon followed by that of the Rev. John Lundie at Malan, and for a dozen years they have been next-door neighbours, though six-and-thirty miles apart. The road into the bare Galekaland runs almost due north past the military post of Ibeka, with its towering eucalypti, round which Kreli's braves in the "Women's War" of 1877 surged in vain, though led on by a daughter of his great witch-doctor, till she fell before a Fingo assegai. Malan, named after the Christian soldier to whom the mission owes so much, was opened in 1881, the year of his death. The deputies of 1883 found Mr. Lundie and his wife lodged in three Kaffir huts, one serving as parlour and bedroom, one as the minister's study and store-room, and the third as kitchen. These primitive arrangements have given place to a comfortable manse; while the mud church in which the little flock of Christians was swallowed up by the host of red Kaffirs who brought Kreli's greetings to the deputies, was in 1890 replaced by a good building accommodating three hundred persons, the cost of which, just as many pounds, was defrayed—£150 by Mr. Lundie's personal efforts, and £150 by the people.

Mr. Lundie's parish is about twenty-five miles square, with a population of thirty-six thousand, of whom

twenty thousand are Galekas, and sixteen thousand Fingoes. Between the visits of the deputies of 1883 and 1892, the membership had grown from seventy-six to three hundred and twenty-four. All over the district

A WITCH-DOCTRESS.

Mr. Lundie has planted out-stations, and at Dadamba, Bikana, Shixini, little churches have been built, some of them at the sole cost of the people. The Shixini church, like that of too many in the mission, has had to be

built twice over. When completed in 1891 it was opened for worship by the venerable Richard Ross, son of the John Ross who joined the Chumie Mission in 1823. Mr. Lundie has now thirteen elders, and five day-schools, with eight teachers and two hundred children in attendance. At first the teachers had to hunt up the children and compel them to come in, but now the school itself supplies attraction enough. The Malan people are beginning to show an evangelistic zeal, akin to that which burned in the breast of him whose name the station bears. They eagerly assist in services held in heathen kraals, while the women, headed by Mrs. Lundie, hold weekly service with their heathen sisters.

The Tutura

In 1884 Zazé Soga, Tiyo's half-brother, began to gather round the forsaken Tutura a few Gaikas and Fingoes; and in the following year the Rev. William Girdwood, resuming work at this, his original station, set himself earnestly to rebuild its waste places. The district immediately responded. In a few months the membership increased to one hundred and thirty-three; a new brick church was erected, largely through the liberality of the people, two native schools were opened, and a spiritual movement began to make itself felt. In the following year, at three out-stations, wattle and daub buildings were set up, to serve as churches on Sunday and schools during the rest of the week. The dawn of 1887 was marked by the erection of a humble church, costing £11 8s. 8d., at the Gobe—till now a stronghold of heathenism. The collection on the opening day, which wiped off all the debt, included "a young ox, five sheep, two pigs, a few fowls, several half-crowns

from neighbouring headmen, and a shower of sixpences and 'tickies' (threepenny pieces), from Hlanganise's own people." There are now six out-station chapels. Several heathen "wards" are under the pastoral charge of active native evangelists. So much church building goes on in the district, many of the red Kaffirs taking part with the Tutura people, that the heathen folk begin to fear they are to be turned into Christians whether they will or not. Among recent conversions, Mr. Girdwood rejoices in that of Botoman, an ancient councillor of Kreli's, now verging on his ninetieth year, but bringing forth fruit in old age. Through his influence a district school has been opened, in which the missionary recently found forty-five Galeka children, all in red Kaffir attire.

In no part of the older mission has there been more rapid progress. The deputies of 1883 saw only ruins at Tutura, with scarce a shrub to mark the last resting-place of our great Kaffir missionary. Desolation and neglect had marked the place for their own. But in 1892 Mr. Buchanan found a flourishing station of more than two hundred members, with churches and schools, giving evidence that the mission had taken a firm hold of the people, under a missionary whose deep interest in the Kaffir race, knowledge of their language, medical skill, and administrative ability have won their hearts, and made him a power for good all round Kentani Hill. The baleful influence of the witch doctors is being undermined, and instead of the wild revelries of the drunkard, the air is filled with the songs of little children in praise of Him who said, "Suffer the little children to come unto Me." Of one district Mr. Girdwood makes the striking report that all the older school children are now members of the church.

For much of this success the missionary gladly expresses his obligations to the God-fearing and zealous native evangelists who have gathered around him.

Buchanan

For five years Malan had the honour to be the frontier station of the mission; but in 1886 Mr. Stirling left the well-established work at the Emgwali to plant the standard in the heart of the Pondomise country, now called Griqualand East, a hundred miles north of our farthest outpost. Here in the remote Sulenkama Valley, between the rivers Tsitsa and Tina, his courage and enterprise have met with a great reward. In 1881 the Pondomise, under their chiefs Mhlonhlo and Mditshua, had rebelled against British rule. After the war, in which they were broken and scattered, they were permitted to return to their country; but large tracts of it were given to the ever-ready Fingoes, overcrowded now in parts of the Transkei, as formerly in the colony. The numerous Christian families who flocked into the new territory were guarded by their missionaries, Mr. Ross of Cunningham and Mr. Davidson of Paterson. It was agreed to form two new stations. One, named Somerville, was allocated to the Free Church, and the other to our Mission. Each of these stations had thus the advantage of a large nucleus of Christian people. The Pondomise, the aboriginal inhabitants, are not warmly disposed to Christianity; but the chiefs cordially welcomed the coming of the missionary. Nzantsi gave a site for the new mission; a school was speedily opened, the boys coming in ox-hides and the girls in cotton blankets; and after a year's labour Mr. Stirling's heart was rejoiced by the reception of his first convert,

Dibaniso, the son of an old Pondomise councillor—first the missionary's plague and then his joy. Since then others have followed this good example, and numbers of Pondomise children are now in the mission schools.

Our Foreign Mission Secretary, at this station named in his honour, found in 1892 "no fewer than six hundred and fifty-nine members in full communion, and two hundred and twenty-eight candidates under training; besides fifteen day-schools, with eighteen teachers and five hundred and fifty-two scholars"—and this in a region as large as Forfarshire, in which a dozen years before there was scarcely a Christian. There are five paid evangelists, whose salaries are raised by the people; while every one of the twenty-six native elders is doing the work of an evangelist. Nor must it be forgotten, to the credit of Buchanan and its enterprising missionary, that it in turn has become the parent of two new stations—destined, it is hoped, to be leaders in the coming time—Gillespie, among Jojo's Xesibes, and the Tina Mission, among Makaula's Bacas.

The Buchanan district, forty miles square, is peopled chiefly by Pondomise and Bacas; but out of the thirty-seven thousand of the population there is a good leaven of six thousand Fingoes, with Basutos to the number of three thousand. Among the numerous out-stations is one at Botsabelo, among these Basutos, where the chief Sofonio and his son are favourable, and the people have built at their own cost a neat stone church.

Miller

Bomvanaland, to which the attention of the Church was first called by Major Malan, who visited it in 1876, is a tract of country stretching between the Bashee and

the Umtata, twenty-five or thirty miles from the coast, north-east of Malan and south-west of the Sulenkama.

KRELI.

It was Kreli's land of exile, where in a wild mountainous corner "among apes and baboons," as he said, the old chief of four-score years, surrounded by the remnant of his Galeka warriors, mourned the loss of his rightful lands, with little thought, alas, of fealty due to his rightful Lord. The neighbouring missionaries, Messrs. Auld, Girdwood, and Lundie, who explored it more than once, describe it as a land "well wooded, but not well watered—rough and rugged"; though one of them deems it "beautiful," and a country to be desired. Beautiful it was doubtless in the eyes of Dr. Soga, as a virgin sphere of labour, no stated mission work having been attempted within its borders till he took possession. The people, who came from Pondoland more than a century ago, number from twenty to thirty thousand, and are singular among the Kaffir tribes in that they have never gone to war with the white man.

Dr. Soga.

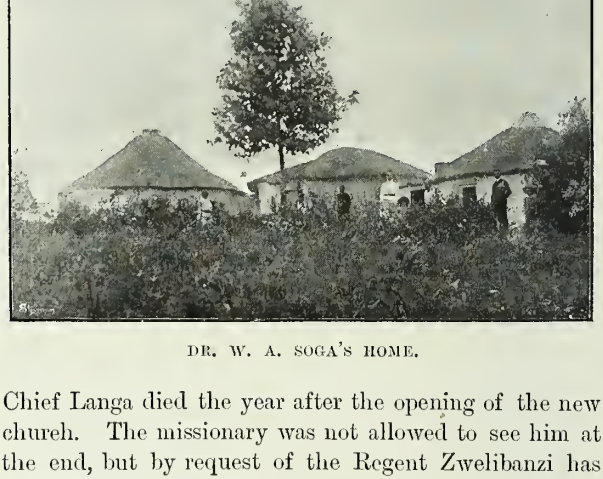
Dr. William Anderson Soga, son of our first Kaffir missionary, is the Church's first resident missionary in Bomvanaland. After a complete theological and medical training in Scotland, he began in 1886, as Mr. Lundie's substitute at Malan, the

work among his father's countrymen to which he had given himself in early youth. Leaving Malan in the following year, with cheering fruits of spiritual increase, Dr. Soga entered on his permanent field of labour.

There was here no Christian nucleus, not one Bomvana convert, when the mission was begun in 1887. The missionary went into the new field with two helpers from Malan, a third, a Tembu, joined in the following year: these three, with Dr. and Mrs. Soga and two members of their household, were the sole representatives of the United Presbyterian Mission in Bomvana-land, when the first "roll" was made up at the opening of the new church at Miller in 1888. A good site, in the midst of a dense population, was granted by Langa, the Bomvana chief; and, on 4th November 1888, the church was opened amid great rejoicings. The chief-paramount, Kreli, who always thought a missionary a "great responsibility," was present with Langa; and the whole debt on the building was cleared off by a collection extending over nearly three hours and amounting to £100.

Langa declared on this occasion that, when the missionary first came he did not want him, but now accepted him, and that gladly. The will of the chief being supreme, his friendliness at once gave Dr. Soga free access to every village. Even more powerful in his favour, among a people given over to superstition and witchcraft, is the medical skill with which he is endowed. The Kaffir believes in doctors. One old gentleman at Malan indeed carried his faith in medicine so far as to swallow in one comprehensive dose the half-dozen powders which the young doctor had prescribed. A dispensary of brick and iron has been erected at Miller, and from a hundred miles round patients come

to put themselves into the hands of the first M.D. of Kaffir blood. The earnestness that prompts to a journey of a hundred miles, if not a fee, is a compliment to the doctor, which can be appreciated only by those who have travelled in lands beyond the Bashee. Of the five thousand treated yearly, many patients hear of the Great Physician who never sends any man empty away, for Dr. Soga desires to give the foremost place to the gospel message with which he is put in trust. Poor



DR. W. A. SOGA'S HOME.

Chief Langa died the year after the opening of the new church. The missionary was not allowed to see him at the end, but by request of the Regent Zwelibanzi has undertaken the education of Nkomeni, the young heir.

A Stronghold of Satan.

Dr. Soga has twenty-one preaching places, and cherishes a good hope regarding his difficult field. It *is* a difficult field. "A stronghold of Satan," one of the earlier missionaries calls it. Kreli was willing to patronise the missionary, but

not willing that his people should become Christians, and "like chief, like people." They are content with their heathen ways. Education has no charm for them: they are too ignorant to appreciate its potentialities. After five years' work one school is more than enough to accommodate all young Bomvanaland. But a beginning has been made, and the very difficulties of the work attract the strong resolute missionary. Amid the crowds of red Kaffirs who gathered to hear our Foreign Mission Secretary on the occasion of his recent visit, were "here and there little groups of those who had already been brought out of heathenism, and who, though recent converts, are faithful and true." The membership has risen from seven to thirty, chiefly Bomvanas and Galekas, some Fingoes who have joined by certificate, and a few Xesibes from Sidiki's district, in which work has lately been begun at the request of the chief and his people. There are about as many candidates as members, and signs of spiritual blessing are thankfully hailed by the missionary and those who watch and pray by his side. May the little leaven speedily leaven the whole mass of superstition and worldliness by which it is surrounded!

Our Bomvanaland station bears the name of "Miller," after Robert Miller, a generous and large-hearted elder of Claremont Church, Glasgow, who, in April 1893, was suddenly, in midtime of his days, called to enter on the higher service.

Gillespie

Not the least remarkable advance was that made in 1890 into the country of the Xesibes, thirty or forty miles north-east of Buchanan. The Xesibe country is a tract of fertile plain-land to the north of Pondoland.

It forms part of Griqualand East, is peopled by some 12,000 heathen Kaffirs, and has been lately proclaimed part of Cape Colony. So long ago as 1876 the chief Jojo, a man of exceptional large-heartedness, had expressed a desire to receive a missionary. Stragglers from the south who called themselves *Amakristu*, people of Christ, had told the Xesibes something of Christianity, and excited the desire to know more. Jojo appealed in turn to the Wesleyans, the Free Church, and our own mission, but in vain. Then came the Buchanan station, with its missionary working up to his very borders. Mr. Stirling, commissioned by the United Conference of Presbyterian Missionaries, visited him and joined in his appeals to the Church. At first the Mission Board, to its regret, found itself unable to grant Jojo's prayer; but some of our poorest people began to volunteer contributions, self-denial showed itself, enthusiasm was kindled, and the students, once more coming to the help of the Kaffrarian Mission, rolled away a reproach that threatened to fall on our Church. When at the close of 1888 Mr. Stirling carried the sad news to Jojo that we could not respond to his request, "Tell your white brothers," said the old man, with a faith and hope that would take no denial, "tell your white brothers that I look to them for a missionary; that I am waiting for him now." In the following year his face beamed with joy, when the same missionary was able to assure him that his appeal had prevailed; and on June 23, 1890, the Rev. P. L. Hunter was installed as missionary to the Xesibes.

The Chief Jojo.

Jojo did not live long enough to see his tribe embrace the gospel, but his "great wife," his daughter, and a granddaughter were among the fourteen converts gained through Mr. Stirling's preliminary visits. Jojo's son and successor is

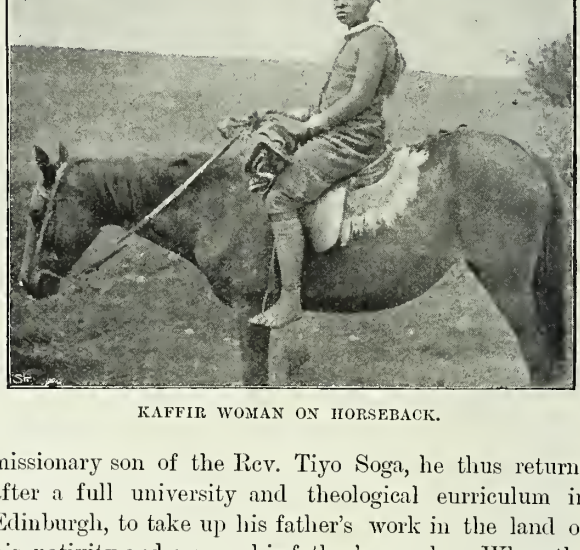
favourable, and the people lend an attentive ear. "Thirty-four have been received," says Mr. Buchanan, "into full communion, and thirty are candidates." Schools have been opened, and services are held at six different centres every Sabbath. Mrs. Hunter is at work among the women, "aiding her husband," like a true missionary's wife, "in winning the respect and affection of the people." Jojo always cherished a personal regard for Mr. Hunter. He was reluctant to let him settle in the Sulenkama, which he thought too far away from his own place. "His missionary was to him like a young woman whom he loved and wished to marry." When he came to die, in April 1893, he sent for Mr. Hunter to pray with him; and though he made no open confession of faith in Christ, it would be difficult to believe that old Jojo died a heathen. It was as a Christian they laid him to rest; the funeral service, by the special request of his family and tribesmen, being conducted by Mr. Hunter, and without any of the old heathen customs, a fit tribute to the old chief who, rejoicing to see the gospel day afar off, watched for its coming as those that watch for the morning.

Mr. Hunter's report for 1893 speaks of a year of steady if slow progress. A number of new members have been received from the French Mission in Basutoland, bringing with them their evangelist, Jeremiah Ntsie. New Sabbath schools have been opened at all the stations; and the day schools are making rapid progress. Elders and evangelists are doing their work well. Two mornings weekly are devoted to evangelistic services, the preachers starting out at break of day, in summer about five o'clock, and in winter about seven. The young chief, who was trained at Lovedale, took his place among

the tribe in 1893, and is now a candidate for membership.

Mount Frere

On the evening of Sabbath, 24th September 1893, the Rev. John Henderson Soga was ordained in Morningside Church, Edinburgh, as a missionary to Kaffraria. Born in the Emgwali manse, second son and seeond



KAFFIR WOMAN ON HORSEBACK.

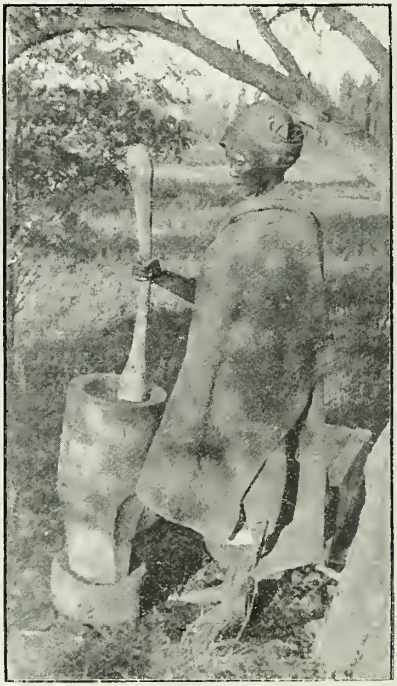
missionary son of the Rev. Tiyo Soga, he thus returns after a full university and theological eurriculum in Edinburgh, to take up his father's work in the land of his nativity and among his father's people. When the three Soga brothers first eame to Seotland in 1870, in one of the pathetic brooding letters their father wrote commending them to the care of friends, he said, "They do not go to Scotland to seek a fortune. They go to Seot-

land for the benefit of Kaffraria. They are needed here." Two of the three have already responded to this sacred call. Side by side they stood in Morningside Church, the elder brother giving the ordination charge to the younger; and side by side, God helping them, they are to labour in that Kaffraria that has need of them—one in Bomvanaland, and the other beyond the Tina River.

It was a great day when Mr. Soga crossed the Tina drift, and entered his district for the first time. "A right royal surprise," says Mr. Stirling, "awaited us, for Ntuta, the headman of Toleni location had sent some forty horsemen to escort us to the Toleni. The welcome, too, in the church on our arrival there, from headman and people generally, was exceedingly cordial." In like manner, at Mount Frere and at the Mbonda, the people seem to have taken this son of Soga to their hearts.

On 14th December, the session of Buchanan met at Lower Mkemane to welcome the young missionary and induct him into the charge of the new district, now disjoined from the immense territory till then under Mr. Stirling's charge. How greatly the work had grown under his hands, appears in the fact that while a district equally wide remains under Mr. Stirling's care, Mr. Soga enters on the work allocated to him with a well-organised session of twelve elders, a membership of three hundred and eighteen, and one hundred and thirteen inquirers. He has the assistance of two evangelists who are supported by the free-will offerings of the people. Some half-dozen out-stations are included in the broad lands over which he is now installed between the Tina and the Umzimvubu Rivers—Buchanan on one side and Gillespie on the other. His fellow-students have engaged to raise the

funds needed to equip the new station, and the whole Church will follow him with the prayerful hope that he may be richly blessed in the wide sphere and great work which will demand and, we trust, reward all his energies.



POUNDING MEALIES.

CHAPTER VI

THE PRESBYTERY OF ADELAIDE

The ministers and churches which constitute the Presbytery of Adelaide are not only active helpers in our mission, but form an integral part of it. As one of our mission presbyteries they have their share in shaping the policy and watching over the interests of our work in South Africa. And though being so far independent of home control they lose certain privileges which are associated with subordination, their ministers remain loyal sons of the Church that trained and sent them forth, and their people are numbered among the thousands of her Israel. It is natural then that the Church should cherish an affectionate interest in all that concerns their welfare. More especially must their isolated position and largely missionary character appeal to our sympathy.

This mutual interest takes a very practical shape. The Church has always regarded her presence in South Africa as primarily, if not exclusively, intended to benefit the native and helpless section of the community; and in the work to which she has been called all four churches of the Presbytery are her earnest coadjutors. They naturally form rallying centres for the Kaffir population by which they are surrounded, and are a strength to the native congregations associated with them. On the other hand, we are happy to further their laudable

endeavour to maintain ordinances among themselves, by making an annual grant towards the support of their ministers, in acknowledgment of their unwearied service in gathering and tending the Kaffir churches of which they are the missionary overseers.

The complaint is sometimes made that Presbyterianism is a failure in the colony, and the home churches are blamed for preferring the interests of the Kaffirs to those of their own countrymen. The Presbytery of Adelaide has found a way of reconciling these interests to the benefit of both. Here, indeed, lies the true foreign mission work of the colonial Presbyterian churches; and the more heartily they engage in it the more surely do they show themselves, not only worthy descendants of the stock from which they sprang, but true members of that spiritual Israel, the glory of whose sonship it is to make salvation known.

Glenthorn congregation, the oldest in either Presbytery, was formed in 1840 in the picturesque valley of the Mankazana, where twenty years before a little company of Scottish emigrants, having said "Farewell to bonnie Teviotdale and Scotia's mountains blue," found a new home under the shadow of the Winterberg, on lands reminding them of the country from which they had come out, and which are still held by their descendants. Thomas Pringle, their own poet, describes the country as "beautiful and inviting, diversified with glens and mountains, rocks and forests." The church was built by a brother of the poet; and a worthy representative of the old Border family on whose land it stands, continues the generous traditions of Glenthorn. The other members of the European congregation share Mr. Pringle's sentiments;

Glenthorn.

and, while contributing towards the maintenance of ordinances among themselves, are ready to do all in their power for the benefit of the natives around them.

Glenthorn is the centre of a mountainous and thinly-peopled district, with a total population of only sixteen hundred, of whom two hundred are Europeans. The natives are of strangely-mingled descent. The usual Sabbath congregation includes Kaffirs, Fingoes, Basutos, Hottentots, Mozambiques, and mixed—a warm-hearted and responsive company, with one heart, if many tongues. After Mr. Cumming's removal to the Emgwali, Mr. Leslie and then Mr. Dewar had for a time charge of Glenthorn. They were succeeded in 1874 by Mr. Shearer, who, after an earnest ministry of twenty years, was, early in 1894, to the deep regret of his attached people and the Board, compelled by continued ill-health, to retire from mission service. He leaves a European congregation numbering thirty-four members, and a native church of one hundred and fifty-seven, with four elders. There are ten out-stations, one of them twenty-five miles distant. Mr. Shearer has given much attention to the young. The first Sabbath of the month is known as "children's day," when large numbers of little ones from heathen kraals, as well as from Christian homes, come to hear the Word of God.

Adelaide.

A drive of twenty miles, and of two or more hours, according to the nature of his vehicle and the quality of his cattle, brings the traveller down the well-watered, well-wooded valley of the Mankazana, and across the Koonap drift to Adelaide. Eleven times the road fords the mountain stream, up which the Scottish settlers made their way in 1820. The little town of Adelaide, beautifully situated, with

hills on every side, is built round a broad "place" with a grassy carpet, living green in spring, but of a more sombre hue during the other months. It presents now a scene of peaceful country life, whose people no longer hear from the adjacent "kloof," as in former days, the roar of the tiger, or of the more cruel dogs of war.

The European church was built in 1862, when Mr. Peter Davidson began his fervent ministry here. The members number only seventy, with four deacons, but

MULE WAGGON.

have always contributed the larger proportion of their minister's stipend. Mr. Davidson, after thirty years' labour, having now retired from active duty, they have undertaken the entire responsibility for the support of his colleague and successor, Mr. Thomas Meikle, who, on the 5th of November 1893, was ordained over them. During all Mr. Davidson's ministry he has carefully tended the little native church which has grown up beside his own. It now also numbers seventy members, with

a Sabbath school of sixty children. It is gratifying to know that the European members are taking a yet more active personal interest in their native brethren, and that here also a spirit of prayer and revival is showing itself.

Tarkastad.

The Rev. John Dewar carried to the bracing upland district of Tarkastad, with its picturesque flat-topped mountains and gorgeous sunsets, the missionary spirit which first led him to South Africa. After his settlement in 1878, he speedily began work among the Kaffirs, and has organised a native church at Tarka, midway between Tarkastad and Glenthorn—though with the great Winterberg Range towering between. Here, once a month, he ministers to a little native congregation of thirty-eight members, whose three elders conduct service on the intervening Sabbaths. Mr. Dewar has a ready command of Kaffir, and along with his Tarkastad and Tarka people is deeply interested in the progress of the gospel among the natives. In his mission charge he has the help of a band of zealous elders, who diligently hold prayer meetings and candidates' classes throughout the district. The Sabbath congregation includes Hottentots, half-castes, Basutos, Fingoes, Gaikas, Galekas, Tembus. The service is conducted in three languages, Mr. Dewar preaching part of his sermon in Dutch and part in Kaffir, while a native helper holds forth in the Sesutu. But sympathy and love unite those whom language would keep apart. The Tarka church is but a little one, but it is full of life and hope.

Somerset East.

Somerset East, a town of two thousand inhabitants, on the Little Fish River, marks the most westerly point touched by the mission. Our minister, the Rev. William Leith, formerly of Airth,

is active in work among the Kaffirs, having three small native congregations at Somerset, Glenavon, and Cookhouse, with a total membership of over one hundred, including three elders. The church at Glenavon was built by the late Mr. Hart, who bequeathed it to the Somerset Church for mission purposes. Mr. Leith has had to face special difficulties at Somerset. The handsome church his people built in 1871, at a cost of £2000, was completely wrecked by a storm in the following year, and had to be rebuilt —a heavy charge on a congregation numbering little over sixty members. In his native work, too, he is tried by the constant loss of members passing on to the Transkei, that they may dwell among their own people. But he is not left without encouragement, more especially when now and again he is cheered by the accession of red Kaffirs brought from darkness into light, and by tokens of revival that have followed the prayers in which he and his church abound.

CHAPTER VII

AFTER THREE QUARTERS OF A CENTURY

In drawing to a close the story of these seventy-two years, it seems natural to inquire what there is to show for all this work and sacrifice—though, indeed, our concern is with duty, not with results, with obedience rather than with reward. Were there nothing to show, we "can no other."

Putting the last first it is evident that the gospel has vastly improved the conditions of native life in South Africa. The coloured man can no longer be treated as a mere beast of burden—the "creature," as the old Dutch settlers called him, is growing into the citizen. In a bitter colonial proverb the missionary is classed with drought and the native, as one of the three pests of South Africa; but where the missionary comes drought disappears, and the native question finds its only adequate solution. He it is who has taught the Kaffir—not only by precept but by the far more effective means of example—the value of irrigation and the use of tools; to feel the need for decent clothes; to wield the pen and the spade instead of the assegai; while in his hands the mission station has become an object lesson of industry, progress, and beauty which the dullest intelligence can apprehend. Of two huts in the same kraal you may tell, before you

The Gospel civilises.

cross the threshold, in which the heathen lives and in which the Christian. Even the faces of the children undergo a change for the better after a short time at school. Any sense the Kaffir has gained of the dignity of labour and the true beauty and meaning of womanhood, he owes to the Gospel, and the missionary who brought it to his kraal.

HEATHEN HUT.

The colonist should be the last man to grudge the money spent on missions. It is said that in 1820 all the goods on sale at the yearly fair held at Fort Wiltshire, then the only lawful trading post, could be bought for £200. Now, for every missionary pound that goes across the Kei, £100 comes back to benefit colonial commerce. Lovedale alone has been a little fortune to Cape Colony. Out of two thousand four hundred and fifty-eight Kaffir pupils who had passed through that institution up to 1889, there were known

to be sixteen ministers, twenty evangelists, three hundred and seventy-six teachers, six lawyers, three journalists, one thousand two hundred and thirteen in various employments, two hundred and fourteen who were employed as casual labourers, or were living at home, while two hundred and forty-six were still at Lovedale. Only fifteen had gone back to heathenism

CHRISTIAN HUT.

Of one thousand six hundred of the lads only one had come before Commissioner Brownlee for the national sin of horse-stealing. You may find them as pastors and teachers, as policemen and interpreters, but not as rogues and vagabonds. "Not a penny," says Mr. Brownlee, "has been paid by the Cape Government for Kaffir education which has not been repaid by the Kaffirs themselves, with interest and compound interest." The value the Kaffirs put on education may be seen in the fact that during the fourteen years ending with 1888, they paid in fees at Lovedale alone £14,554.

The Commission appointed by the Cape Government in 1883 to inquire into the condition of the native tribes, have put on record conclusive testimony to the value of missions. Composed of members of the Colonial Legislature, magistrates, and others,—with only one missionary,—and presided over by the Judge President, the Commission unanimously reported that—

"Among the most powerful of the beneficent forces operating at present on the native tribes are the various Christian missions. The influence of these agencies in raising the natives, both morally and industrially, in their standing as men, cannot be over-stated. It is a sincere gratification, therefore, to the Commission to be able to bear its unanimous testimony to the high opinion formed both from hearsay and from personal observation and experience, of the good which is being effected, morally, educationally, and industrially, by Christian missionaries among the native population."

The Coming of the Book.

But the great object of the missionary is not to civilise men, but to beseech them in Christ's stead to be reconciled to God. For this end he gives them first of all the Divine Book, which contains his own credentials, and those glad tidings of which he is the herald.

As early as 1823 the Lord's Prayer had been printed at the Chumie, on the small hand-press brought out by Mr. Ross. The great missionary petitions—"Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven," thus early made their way into the Kaffir tongue. Mr. Brownlee translated St. Matthew's Gospel, and Mr. Thomson that of St. John, and some of the Epistles. While it was thus Presbyterian missionaries who took the first steps in this

work, it was the Wesleyans who produced the first complete translation of Holy Scripture in the Kaffir tongue. They reported the fact in 1844, and were immediately authorised to print an edition on behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society. From five to six thousand Kaffirs were said to be able to read. By 1850 the first edition of the New Testament had been exhausted, and another of five thousand copies was put to press.

In 1868 Mr. Appleyard's version was submitted to a board of revisers, comprising seven missionaries, and representing all the denominations interested. Tiyo Soga, and after his death Mr. John A. Chalmers, took an influential part in this great work, which was completed in 1887. The issue of a new and final revised edition is now contemplated.

Thus has the Kaffir, who a century ago had no written language, received the inestimable boon of the Word of God in his own tongue, and in printed form—Holy Scripture becoming in his case, as often before, the foundation of a new national literature, and the statute-book and charter of a Church, which, but for its message and command, would never have been born.

The Kaffir Church.

These three quarters of a century have witnessed the foundation and upbuilding of a Kaffir Church: and it is not an easy thing for a red Kaffir to become a Christian. He must be prepared to part with the traditions of his fathers, and the pleasures and honours of his little world; to take patiently the spoiling of his goods, to suffer the loss of all he holds dear. But the South African Missions, and our own among them, have been familiar from the outset with such triumphs of Divine grace.

The membership of our South African congrega-

tions, in 1871 one thousand and forty-four, is now three thousand three hundred and eleven, and is steadily increasing year by year. Members are admitted only after close scrutiny and long probation. Imperfection and immaturity are, indeed, still to be found in

REV. JOHN A. CHALMERS.

the Kaffir Church—the old leaven of heathenism is not easily purged out—but there is much to reward the patience of the missionary, and to renew his zeal. A Christian community is growing up. The Bible is becoming the common possession of the homes of the

people; there is a growing delight in prayer; family worship is more generally observed, and the sanctuary loved, where seventy years ago there was neither sanctuary nor home.

In the grace of liberality not a few of us would seem to come behind our fellow-members in Kaffirland. "Take this piece of money," said a poor Paterson woman to Mr. Carstairs in 1883, handing him a florin, "that you may buy yourselves a little bread should you be hungry in your journey"; and on the morning of the same Communion Sabbath the Incisininde people had sent a messenger twenty miles with a letter enclosing £1, 14s. 3d. to buy water for the deputies, lest they should thirst by the way. When the children at Buchanan heard of the death of Dr. Rae, of Old Calabar, and the sad home-coming of his young widow, they relieved their feelings by a collection towards the cost of the Porteous-Rae launch,—a collection not in coin, for they had none, but in kind,—some of them giving their little all, and with all their heart. At some stations the people pay the salaries of their evangelists and teachers, and provide for all ordinary expenses; and at all there is a manly effort towards self-support. At the Lower Xolobe a new stone church was opened in 1893. It cost £110, and the people, few in number but large in heart, wiped off the debt in one day. It is the third place of worship built at their cost. Two-thirds of the expense of building the Transkei churches have been borne by the native Christians. When that of Esigubudweni was opened in 1887, the people had to be restrained from giving—the only instance of the kind, it is believed, that has occurred since the days of Moses. When Blythswood, the Transkei Lovedale, was built, the Fingoes taxed themselves, three times over,

five shillings per man, and contributed, first and last, no less than £4600 as their quota of the cost.

If we would form any just estimate either of the difficulties or the successes of our Kaffrarian Mission, tribal conditions must be kept in view. While in language, manners, and customs the Kaffir tribes differ but little from one another, they are far from having the same mental and moral characteristics. The warlike haughty Gaikas and Galekas, though among the first to come in contact with the Gospel, have been as a whole among the last to accept it. On them Christianity and civilisation make little impression, while both quickly lay hold of the Fingoes. These are naturally a peace-loving, industrious, commercial people. They appreciate the advantages of education, and their children crowd to school. The largest and most successful of our mission stations are composed chiefly of this progressive tribe, who, indeed, constitute the majority of our members. Dr. W. A. Soga affirms that "the future of the Kaffir race lies with the Fingoes."

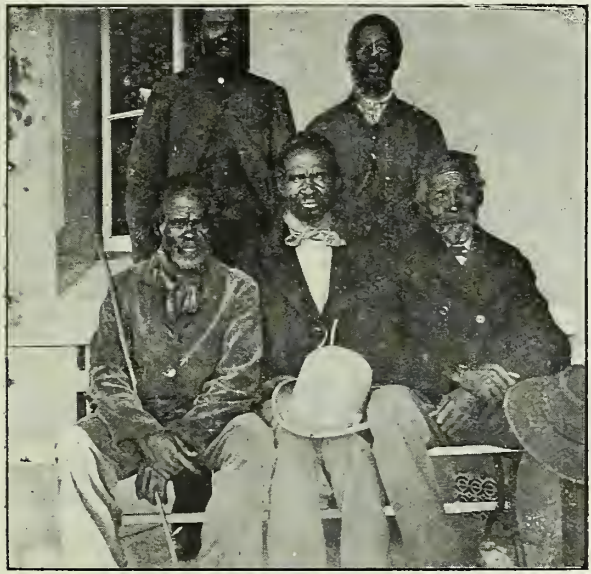
Tribal Conditions.

These differences in tribal conditions, which have shown themselves throughout this narrative, must be emphasised if we would estimate rightly the difficulties with which some of our missionaries have to contend. There are, however, probably few of us who have not learned by experience how rash it is to determine from statistics what may be success or failure in Christian work.

There is doubtless much yet to be done for these infant churches, as well as by them, in the education of the young, in supplying a literature for the reading generations that are to come, in perfecting the spirit of independence and self-support, in training native evangelists and pastors.

Much yet to be done.

The Kaffir Church must have its own Kaffir ministry. The people call for it, and the home Church must see that it is supplied. That there is good material to work upon none will doubt who have seen a Kaffir evangelist in presence of a native audience, or have sat with a Kaffir session till they thought themselves in a



EMGWALI ELDERS.

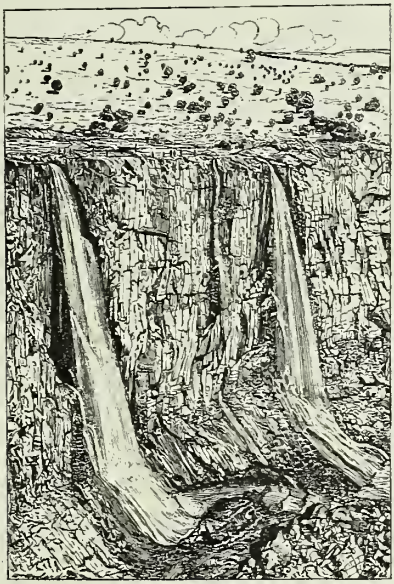
more eloquent, but not less shrewd and solid Scotland. There are Sogas still to come—men like John Ntintilli, one of the Emgwali Fingoes who crossed the Kei with Mr. Selater in 1876, and whose story Mrs. Forsyth has just told to the Church. It is worth repeating here, however briefly. John settled at Mbulu Kweza, of

which congregation he was made an elder. He approved himself as a man of God, whose hands were clean, whose heart was pure: a man of eloquence and sound judgment—qualities which do not always run in couples. The heathen name for him was Inyaniso—truth. He had the habit of evangelising from kraal to kraal, and "wherever he went," said a hardened old heathen, "the word of God went with him." Mr. Davidson, his missionary, calls him a Valiant-for-the-Truth, "quiet, gentle, shrewd, doughty, fascinating, and lovable in all his ways." John Ntintilli fell asleep on 13th July, 1893, with the loved name of his Master on his lips—"Jesus, Jesus!" He is not the last of his kind.

Within these limits it has been necessary to keep strictly to the story of our own Mission. But we are glad to know that it is only one among many workers for Christ in Kaffraria. Fifty years before Carey's day, on March 31, 1742, George Schmidt, the pioneer Moravian missionary to South Africa, baptized his first Hottentot convert at Baviaanskloof; and in the century and a half that has followed, the Moravian brethren have continued to show the way. It is a privilege to be associated with this early missionary church, and with those who have followed where it began—with the London Missionary Society, and its immortal memories of Moffat and Livingstone; with the Wesleyan South African Missionary Society, and its exemplary development of native agency and local activity, which we are only beginning to imitate; with the Dutch Church of South Africa, now happily doing good service in the mission field; and with the many other fellow-workers whom the love of Christ has drawn hither from the Continent of Europe, and even from the United States of America.

Fellow-workers.

We stand on terms of yet closer fellowship with our brethren of the Free Church of Scotland. We gladly recognise the value of their great educational institutions of Lovedale and Blythswood—by both of which our mission has largely benefited—while it is not as two but as one that we labour, side by side and shoulder to shoulder on the open field. Our missions sprang from the same source, and it will not be our fault if they do not soon run again in one, and that a broader and deeper channel.



THE TSITSA FALLS.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CALL TO GO FORWARD

It is estimated that some eighty-one thousand converts gathered out of heathenism, now form the centre of a Christian community in South Africa of upwards of three hundred thousand souls. This is a good beginning; but only a beginning in view of what remains to be done. The great Powers of Europe have lately been busy in apportioning Africa among themselves—Great Britain, it is said, now owns twenty-five hundred thousand of its square miles—but the whole of it was long ago given to Christ, and it is more than time His Church took possession of it in His name. Let us not think it enough that Kaffraria is open, and that we are, so far, doing our part in planting it bit by bit with mission stations. The Kaffir Church belongs to a great continent, and must prepare herself for a great future. Her face is towards the north from which her people came; and to every tribe on the way she must carry back the gospel she has found. This is the enterprise towards which South African missions have been led through all these years of trial and of service — an enterprise which may well unite the energies of every missionary, of every Kaffir convert, and no less of every minister and church member in the colony. The power of the witch-doctor is fading before

Regions beyond.

the skill and tenderness of the medical missionary; the tribes are shaking themselves free from the iron rule of their chiefs; the attraction of the Cross is drawing them to the Saviour; the regions beyond invite His approach. We dare neither leave the Dark Continent without the Light, nor trust it to the tender mercies of a commercial civilisation, whose chief care is to make its market at whatever cost, whose traffic in drink floods the Kaffir country with the red man's ruin. The Gospel is the one hope for Africa, as for the world. It is a hope of which we do not need to be ashamed. Slowly, it may be, but surely, it is doing its proper work in Kaffraria—bringing a new gladness into the heart of the little children, raising woman to her rightful place, healing the broken-hearted, proclaiming liberty to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, setting at liberty them that are bruised, preaching the acceptable year of the Lord. "When the word of God came among us," a Kaffir chief declared in 1836, "we were like the wild beasts, we knew nothing—nothing but war and bloodshed. Everyone was against his neighbour, each man tried to destroy his brother. The word of God has turned us, has brought us peace, has reconciled one man to another; and in us is fulfilled the Scripture, 'The wolf shall dwell with the lamb.'"

Turning for a moment ere the "story" ends to those who have done the work of which it tries to tell, we recall the memories of many both on the field and at home—members of the old praying societies who were among the first contributors; godly women not a few who had the interests of the Emgwali school laid on their hearts; fathers and elders of the Church, who, amid difficulty and discouragement, never wearied in work, in gift, in prayer, on behalf of a mission they

looked on as peculiarly their own—such memories smell sweet and blossom in the dusty archives of the past!

While obliged to chronicle the fact that some of our missionaries have thought it dutiful to leave the field for spheres of labour in the colony and at home, we cannot but acknowledge their good service while they were with us, and the love they bore and still bear to the Church from which they received their first com-

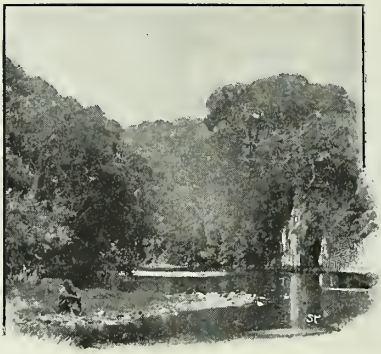
KAFFIR WOMEN.

mission. Mr. Johnston, Mr. Sclater, and Mr. Dewar are still missionaries at heart; and if ever there was one who loved the Kaffir race and did his utmost to elevate and save it, it was he at whose grave in June of 1888 there mourned with us not Grahamstown only, but all that was best in the colony that counted John A. Chalmers among its worthiest sons.

A long succession of missionary heroes links together these generations of conflict, of toil, of watching, of

prayer, of rejoicing mixed with tears. The vegetation of South Africa is famous for its thorny qualities, and it has sometimes seemed as if the spiky mimosa and hook-like "wait-a-bit" had penetrated also into mission work; but now instead of the thorn is coming up the fir tree, and instead of the brier the myrtle tree, and the Kaffir *baum* is putting on its blossom, in token of a better spring. The message carried by those of whom these pages tell has been one of unmingled blessing. They suffered, but never made others suffer—strong men who wore out their lives in this glad service—tender women who with equal courage ministered by their side. Their names, household words round the fires of Kaffir kraals, are graven on the hands which Ethiopia is stretching forth to God.

And while we build the sepulchres of the fathers, let us not forget to honour those who now fill their places; some of them sons of the dead, all imbued with their spirit, and working towards the same Divine purpose. We seek more fully to bear their burden, more lovingly to sympathise with them in the wearing isolation and heathenism amid which their lives are spent, to have them more in our hearts and prayers, by the grace of God to imitate their faith and patience, and to be more helpful fellow-labourers with them in the time to come. The Church that in this spirit goes forth with Christ's messengers, shares both their work and their reward. Her poor efforts come back to her in new power, her prayers in blessing, her money in the imperishable riches—even her beloved dead she receives raised to life again.



APPENDIX

I. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE KAFFRARIAN MISSION [1]

1486.		Bartholomew Diaz discovers the Cape of Good Hope.
1497.		Portugal claims the Cape.
1652.		Arrival of the Dutch.
1685.		Settlement of French Huguenots.
1740.		The Dutch and Kaffirs cross swords.
1795.		First British Protectorate.
1796.		Glasgow Missionary Society founded.
1811.		First Kaffir War.
1815.		Cape Colony ceded to Great Britain.
1819.		Second Kaffir War.
1820.		Arrival of five thousand British settlers.
,,		Chumie Mission founded by Rev. John Brownlee of the London Missionary Society.
1821.	Nov.	Rev. W. R. Thomson and Mr. John Bennie arrive at the Chumie.
1823.	Dec.	Arrival of Rev. John Ross. Baptism of the first converts in South Africa.
1824.	Jan. 1.	First Presbytery formed.
,,		Ncera station opened by Rev. John Ross and Mr. Bennie.
1827.		Mr. William Chalmers arrives at the Chumie.
1828.		Station opened at Balfour.
1829.	Sept. 28.	New church opened at the Chumie.
1830.		Stations opened at Burnshill and Pirie. Mr. Thomson accepts call to Balfour.

[1] Prepared by the Rev. John Moore, B.D., Old Meldrum.

1833.		Slavery abolished in Cape Colony.
1834.		Third Kaffir War.
,,		Mr. Chalmers receives ordination.
1836.		Rev. Robert Niven opens station at Igquibigha.
1837.		Glasgow Missionary Society divided by the Voluntary Controversy. Formation of Glasgow African Missionary Society; Rev. W. Chalmers and Rev. Robert Niven recognised as its agents.
1839.		Ladies' Auxiliary formed.
1840.		Glenthorn station opened by Rev. J. F. Cumming.
,,		Miss M'Laren begins teaching at Igquibigha.
1842.		First converts at Igquibigha.
1844.		Free Church of Scotland takes over work of the Glasgow Missionary Society.
,,		First translation of the Kaffir Scriptures completed by Wesleyan Missionaries.
1846.		War of the Axe.
,,		Miss M'Laren resigns.
,,		Chumie and Igquibigha stations destroyed.
1847.	Feb. 8.	Death of Rev. William Chalmers at Glenthorn.
,,	Feb. 21.	Rev. J. F. Cumming resumes work at the Chumie.
,,		Tiyo Soga comes to Scotland.
,,	May	Union of the Secession and Relief Churches. Kaffrarian Mission adopted by the United Presbyterian Church.
,,	Nov.	Rev. R. Niven resumes work at Igquibigha.
1848.		Tiyo Soga baptized in John Street Church, Glasgow.
1849.		Rev. R. Niven removed to Uniondale, with Tiyo Soga as catechist and teacher.
1850.		Rev. Henry Renton, of Kelso, visits the Mission as Synod Deputy.
,,	Dec. 24.	Outbreak of the Fifth Kaffir War. Igquibigha and Uniondale Stations destroyed.
1851.	Jan. 5.	Last observance of the Lord's Supper at the Chumie.
,,	Feb.	Chumie Station abandoned.
1852.		Tiyo Soga returns to Scotland with the missionaries.
,,		Scattered converts find shelter at Peelton.
1853.		Close of the War, and return to Kaffraria of Rev. R. Niven and Rev. J. F. Cumming.
1854.		Mr. Cumming resumes work at Glenthorn.
,,		Mr. Niven accepts call to Maryhill, near Glasgow.
1855.		Glenthorn church constituted.
1856.		The cattle-killing delusion.

1857.		Emgwali Mission settled by Rev. Tiyo Soga and Rev. Robert Johnston.
,,		The surviving converts gather round them.
1858.	April 18.	First Emgwali church opened; and first observance there of the Lord's Supper.
1859.	April 3.	First converts received at Emgwali.
,,	Oct.	Rev. R. Johnston accepts a call to Grahamstown.
1861.	July 29.	Foundation stone of present Emgwali church laid.
,,	Nov.	Rev. John A. Chalmers settled at Emgwali.
,,	Dec. 9.	Girls' School opened there by Miss Ogilvie.
,,		Adelaide congregation formed.
1862.	April 19.	Death of Mrs. J. A. Chalmers at the Emgwali.
,,	June 15.	New church opened at Emgwali.
,,		Rev. Peter Davidson, formerly of Brechin, settled at Adelaide.
1863.		Rev. James Davidson settled at King William's Town.
1864.	Feb. 1.	Henderson station opened by Rev. J. A. Chalmers.
,,	Nov.	Rev. John Sclater and Miss Sclater reach Emgwali.
,,	Dec. 25.	First baptism and observance of the Lord's Supper at Henderson.
1865.		Fingoland settled.
1866.	Aug.	Mbulu station begun.
1867.	April	Rev. John Sclater transferred to Mbulu, now called Paterson.
,,		Tutura opened by Rev. Tiyo Soga.
,,		Rev. James Davidson appointed to the Emgwali.
,,	Aug. 4.	New church opened at Henderson.
,,		Rev. Wm. Girdwood (formerly of Penicuik and Perth) joins the mission.
1867.	Dec. 29.	Death of Mrs. Girdwood at King William's Town.
,,		The Lord's Supper first observed at Paterson.
1868.	June.	Rev. Tiyo Soga with Rev. Wm. Girdwood transferred to Tutura.
,,		Rev. J. F. Cumming removed to Emgwali.
1869.		Rev. Robert S. Leslie settled at Henderson.
,,	May.	Quolora opened by Mr. Girdwood.
,,		Elujilo opened by Mr. James Davidson.
,,		Congregation at Somerset East formed under Rev. William Leith, formerly of Airth.
1870.	May.	Mr. Leslie transferred to Glenthorn.
,,		Adelaide adopted as a mission station.
,,		Mission Presbytery formed.
1871.	April 16.	New church opened at Tutura.
,,	Aug. 12.	Death of Rev. Tiyo Soga at Tutura, in his 42nd year.

1872.		New church opened at Paterson.
,,	Aug.	Mr. Leslie transferred to Tutura.
1873.		Rev. John Dewar arrives at Glenthorn.
1874.		Mr. Dewar settled at Quolora.
,,		Rev. Thomas Shearer settled at Glenthorn.
,,		Major Malan takes temporary charge of Paterson.
1875.		Uxolo opened by Major Malan, with Mr. Quince R. Noble and Mr. E. S. Clarke as teachers.
,,		Resignation of Mr. Clarke, and settlement of Mr. C. S. Lundall at Uxolo.
1876.		Rev. John Sclater accepts call to Copland Street Church, Manchester.
,,		Transference of Rev. Jas. Davidson from Elujilo to Paterson.
,		Publication of Revised Kaffir New Testament.
,,		Rev. John A. Chalmers accepts call to Grahamstown.
,,		Station at Glenavon, Somerset East, connected with the mission.
1877.	Aug.	Outbreak of the Sixth Kaffir War. Abandonment of stations at Somerville, Quolora, Uxolo, Elujilo, and Henderson.
,,		Rev. John Lundie arrives at Glenthorn.
1878.		Mr. Quince R. Noble removes to Jamaica.
,,		Rev. John Dewar accepts call to Tarkastad and Tarka.
,,	April 28.	Death of Rev. R. S. Leslie at Emgwali.
1879.		Rev. James M. Auld opens new station of Columba.
1880.		Resignation of Miss Ogilvie and settlement of Miss M'Ritchie as superintendent of Girls' School at Emgwali.
,,	Aug. 6.	Opening of new church at Columba.
1881.		Paterson church and school destroyed by lightning.
,,	Dec.	Opening of new station at Malan by Rev. John Lundie.
1882.	Aug. 1.	New church opened at Paterson.
,,	Oct.	Rev. John W. Stirling settled as colleague at Emgwali.
1883.	May–Sept.	Mission station visited by Synod Deputies, Rev. G. L. Carstairs and Mr. David Corsar, with Mr. Wm. J. Slowan.
1884.	Mar. 19.	Opening of new Girls' School at Emgwali.
,,	Sept.	Rev. Alex. Welsh arrives at Paterson.
,,		Resumption of work at Tutura by Zazé Soga.
1885.		Reopening of station at Tutura by Rev. Wm. Girdwood.
,,	Oct.	Rev. Wm. Anderson Soga, M.B., C.M., reaches Malan.
1886.		Opening of new station at Buchanan (in the Sulenkama Valley) by Rev. J. W. Stirling.

1886.		Rev. J. F. Cumming retires from active service.
,,	Dec. 8.	Settlement of Rev. Alex. Welsh at Emgwali.
,,		Mrs. Forsyth (unsalaried agent) appointed to Xolobe, Paterson.
1887.	Oct. 14.	Death of Mrs. Chalmers, widow of Rev. Wm. Chalmers (Chumie), at Alice.
,,	Dec.	Opening of new station at Miller, Bomvanaland, by Rev. Dr. Wm. A. Soga.
,,		Resignation of Miss M'Ritchie, and appointment of Miss Hope, as superintendent of Girls' School, Emgwali.
1888.	June 1.	Death of Rev. John A. Chalmers (formerly of Henderson) at Grahamstown.
,,	Nov. 4.	Opening of new church at Miller.
1889.		Jubilee of Rev. J. F. Cumming.
1890.	June 23.	Rev. Peter L. Hunter, M.A. opens new station at Xesibe.
,,	June 29.	Opening of new church at Malan.
,,		Division of Kaffrarian Presbytery into the *Presbytery of Adelaide*, consisting of Glenthorn, Adelaide, Tarkastad, and Somerset; and *Presbytery of Kaffraria*, consisting of Emgwali, Paterson, Columba, Malan, Tutura, Buchanan, Miller, and Xesibe.
1892.	Feb. 2.	Death of the Kaffir Chief Kreli.
,,	July–Sept.	Rev. Jas. Buchanan, Foreign Mission Secretary, visits the Mission as Synod Deputy.
1893.	Nov. 5.	Rev. Thomas Meikle ordained Colleague at Adelaide.
,,	Dec. 14.	Rev. John Henderson Soga settled in district of Mount Frere.
1894.		Rev. Thomas Shearer resigns his charge at Glenthorn.

II. STATIONS AND AGENTS
(Presbytery of Kaffraria)

Stations.	Station founded.	Missionaries.	Native Catechists and Evangelists.
Emgwali, .	1857	Rev. J. F. Cumming. ,, Alex. Welsh.	Mpini Nonjiba.
Paterson, .	1868	,, James Davidson.	James Qamana, Elijah Dezi, Dakwana.
Columba, .	1878	,, Jas. M. Auld	Faniso Bukani, Zimanle Vuso, Ndilele Maggabi.
Malan, . .	1875	,, John Lundie, M.A.	William Nombalo, Fumbalela Neivata, James Koboka.
Tutura, .	1885	,, William Girdwood.	Lot Rhai, Micah, Zaze Soga, Weenan Balfour, John Matimba.
Buchanan, .	1886	,, John W. Stirling. ,, J. Henderson Soga.	James Kaziwa, Mofu Dunga, Masebeni Lusaseni, Geo. January, Johannes Mbuqe, Maliwa Ntlati.
Miller, . .	1888	,, William A. Soga, M.D.	Gasa Mbilula, Konjwayo Mzazi, Doniso Kweza, Mzwakili Hani, William Booy.
Gillespie, .	1889	,, P. L. Hunter M.A.	James Bottoman, Barnabas Sopete, Labelwana Mklekwa, Josiah Mancoba, Jeremiah Ntsie.
Presbytery of Adelaide.			
Glenthorn, .	1840	Rev. Thomas Shearer.	Plaatye Slinger.
Adelaide, .	1861	,, Peter Davidson. ,, *Thomas Meikle.	William Plaatges.
Tarkastad. .	1878	,, *John Dewar, M.A.	...
Somerset, .	1869	,, *Wm. Leith.	Daniel Vandala.

* These are ministers of English-speaking congregations, and receive an allowance from the Board for doing mission work among the native population.

III. PERSONAL STATISTICS

Presbytery of Kaffraria

Congregations.	Church and Congregation.								Meetings and Classes.									
	Members, Nov. 1, 1892.	Admissions.	Removals.	Members, Oct. 31, 1893.	Gain.	Loss.	Candidates.	Baptisms.	Out-Stations.	Attendance.	Prayer-Meetings.	Attendance.	Ministers' Week-day Classes.	Attendance.	Sabbath Schools.	Classes.	Teachers.	Attendance of Adults.	Children.
Engwali, . .	326	74	56	344	18	..	80	78	11	350	8	120	2	130	3	11	11	20	240
Paterson, . .	683	83	31	735	52	...	250	170	12	750	33	300	9	220	9	21	21	60	350
Columba, . .	81	11	3	89	8	...	27	12	8	110	6	...	...	...	2	...	...	50	400
Malan, . .	427	10	63	374	...	53	119	89	12	400	31	300	8	119	8	16	12	...	*112*
Tutura, . .	236	53	12	277	41	...	34	52	10	400	10	200	6	34	5	6	6	40	120
Buchanan .	672	152	60	764	92	...	227	161	14	600	35	1000	16	175	6	9	9	30	250
Miller, . .	33	10	3	40	7	...	36	14	24	400	*7*	*350*	*2*	*18*	*2*	*2*	*2*	*12*	*80*
Gillespie, . .	29	47	3	73	44	...	63	20	3	70	31	424	2	32	3	3	6	10	118
Presbytery of Adelaide.[1]																			
Glenthorn, .	174	41	24	191	17	...	39	40	10	300	24	420	1	20	2	7	7	30	70
Adelaide, . .	165	18	3	180	15	..	15	29	4	95	3	110	1	18	2	12	12	...	122
Somerset, . .	119	20	12	127	8	...	20	25	4	110	8	195	2	40	3	8	8	18	127
Tarkastad, .	111	7	1	117	6	...	34	11	...	...	5	70	...	...	3	1	1	*30*	...
	3056	526	271	3311	308	53	944	701	112	3585	201	3489	49	806	48	96	95	300	1989

The figures in italics are last year's.

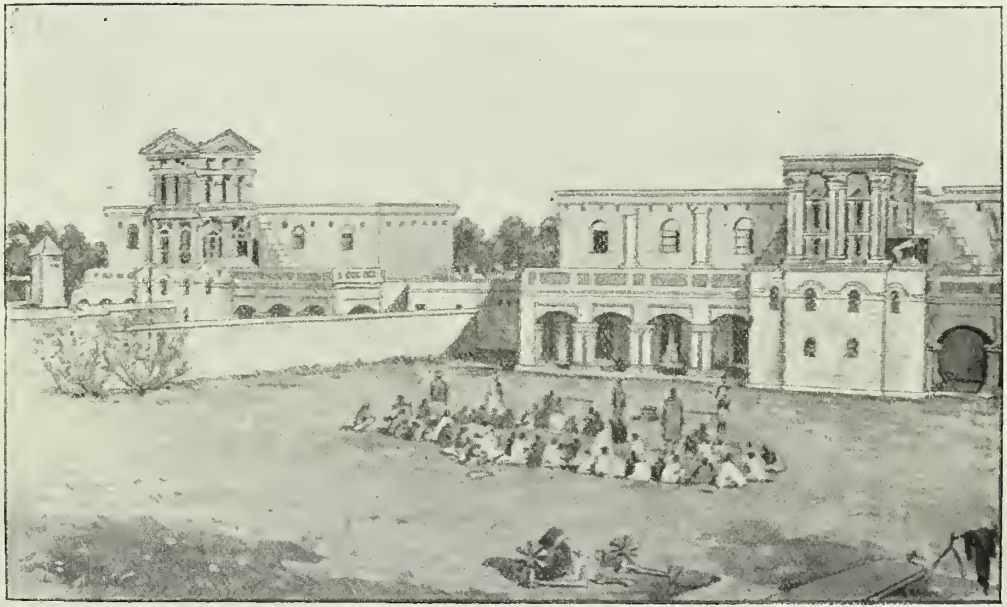
[1] Including European congregations.

MORRISON AND GIBB, PRINTERS, EDINBURGH.

MISSION MAP OF KAFFRARIA

The Edinburgh Geographical Institute

John Bartholomew & Co.



ORPHANAGE, BEAWAR, NOW NORMAL SCHOOL.

Missions of the

United Presbyterian Church

THE STORY OF THE RAJPUTANA MISSION

BY

REV. JOHN ROBSON, D.D.

Edinburgh

OFFICES OF UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

1894

MORRISON AND GIBB, PRINTERS, EDINBURGH

PREFACE

In writing the following narrative of our Mission to Rajputana, I have felt both the advantage and disadvantage of my special relation to it. Having been for the first twelve years of its history one of its agents, and during the latter years a minister of the Home Church, I have had personal experience both of the work there and of the controversies regarding it at home. This has enabled me to see the points on which the Home Church needs to be informed, but it has made it less easy to present a narrative as interesting as if there had been less multiplicity of details. The environment of our Rajputana Mission is from its complexity very difficult to understand, and yet needs to be understood if we would appreciate the work of the Mission. The old civilisation of the land, with its hoary religions, its pantheistic basis, and its inexorable caste rules — the presence of the English Government, with its religious neutrality, its educational system, and its disintegrating effect on old beliefs—the internal independence of the native states among which we are working, their history and their relation to the supreme Government, are some of the factors that must be taken into account if we would understand the work our missionaries have to do. These I have sought to present to the reader along with

a narrative of the Mission as full as space would allow. I hope that these pages will enable the Church at home to appreciate something of the vastness of our field in India, and follow with interest the work of our missionaries there.

For the Appendix containing the Annals of our Indian Mission, I am indebted to the Rev. Mr. Moore of Old Meldrum; and for correcting the same up to date and revising the proofs, to Messrs. Ashcroft and Martin of Rajputana.

JOHN ROBSON.

ABERDEEN, *September* 1894.

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RULES FOR THE PRONUNCIATION OF HINDI NAMES

1. Vowels

Short.		Long.	
a, pronounced as	"u" in "but."	*ā*, pronounced as	"a" in "star."
e, ,,	,, "e" in "prey."	*ai*, ,,	,, "i" in "high."
i, ,,	,, "i" in "pin."	*ī*, ,,	,, "ee" in "meet."
o, ,,	,, "o" in "note."	*au*, ,,	,, "ow" in "how."
u, ,,	,, "u" in "put."	*ū*, ,,	,, "u" in "rule."

2. Consonants

The consonants are pronounced much as in English: "g" is always hard, as in "go."

A dot below *ḍ*, *ṭ*, or *ṛ* indicates that they are pronounced from the roof of the mouth; without it, they are pronounced from the teeth.

Hindi Words and Suffixes

Abād, town or city; as *Nasīrābād.*
Garh, a fort; as *Kishangaṛh.*
Ghar, a house.
Guru, a spiritual guide.
Jati, a priest of the Jain religion.
Jī, a title of respect.
Mahā, great; as *Mahārājah* (great king).
Mandī, market; as *Dhān Mandī* (grain market).
Mer, a hill; as *Ajmer* (Invincible Hill); a hillman.
Munshi, a teacher of Urdu or Persian.
Nagar, a town; as *Nayā Nagar*, new town.
Pandit, a Hindi teacher or learned man.
Panth, a sect.
Pardah, a curtain.
Pīr, a Mohammedan saint.
Pur, a city; as *Jaipur.*
Purā, a village; as *Erinpurā.*
Pūt, a son; as *Rājpūt.*
Rāj, reign, kingdom, rule.
Rājah, a king.
Rāv, a petty chief.
Sāgar, a sea or lake; as *Anā Sāgar.*
Samāj, church, assembly; as *Brahmā Samāj.*
Tālāo (for *Tālāb*), an artificial lake.
Wār, a country; as *Mewār.*
Wārā, a district; as *Merwārā.*
Zan, a woman.
Zanānā, women's apartments.

THE STORY OF THE RAJPUTANA MISSION

CHAPTER I

INDIA: ITS RACES, RELIGIONS, AND MISSIONS.

India: its size and position.

§ 1. To the south of Asia lies the vast peninsula of India. It is in size a continent, extending about 1900 miles from north to south, and 1600 from east to west, and containing about 1,350,000 square miles, exclusive of Burmah. In its position it is secluded from the rest of the world, its south-eastern and south-western sides being swept by the ocean, and its northern guarded by the Himalaya mountains, the highest in the world.

Population and races of India.

§ 2. Its population at the census of 1891 was 288 millions, having increased about 30 millions in ten years. This population consists not of one race alone, but of a number of races. About 106 different languages are spoken in the peninsula; and these represent about as many different nationalities, living not necessarily apart, but through or alongside of one another. The earliest inhabitants were probably the Kolarians. They

seem to have entered India from the north-east, and are represented by the Kols, Bhīls, Gonds, Mīnas, and others, now all known as Hill Tribes, from being found chiefly among the hills. They are still in a comparatively savage state, and use the spear and the bow. Then came another race of a higher civilisation, called the Dravidian, apparently of a Scythic stock. They entered India by the north-west, but are now found almost exclusively in the south—the Tamil, Telugu, and Canarese being the principal varieties. The Aryas entered India after them, but not later than 1200 B.C. They are of the same stock as the Persians, Greeks, and most nations of Europe. It is uncertain whether their original abode was the plains of Central Europe or the highlands of Central Asia, but it is certain that from the latter they made their way into the Panjāb, and gradually spread over all India, driving the Dravidians before them to the south, and the Kolarians to the hills. They are the ancestors of the Brahmans, Rajputs, and most of the mercantile and agricultural castes of India; and they had imposed their religion on the greater part of the population before the Mohammedan invasion took place.

Kolarians.

Dravidians.

Aryas.

§ 3. The Mohammedans made their first conquests in India at the close of the eleventh century. Afghāns, Pathāns, and Moghuls in successive invasions spread these conquests farther and farther, till at the close of the sixteenth century their sway, though not their religion, was established over the whole peninsula. The Moghul Empire, as it was called, maintained its sway for upwards of a hundred years; but at the beginning of last century it began to break up. A number of predatory kingdoms arose, continually

Mohammedan conquest.

at war with one another, by which India was periodically devastated. In the midst of this, a company of English traders, called the East India Company, that had established factories or agencies in various parts of the coast in the seventeenth century, began to form alliances in its own interest with some of the belligerent states. These led to wars, and then to conquests, till at last the whole of India was at peace under its sway. In 1857 a mutiny of the native army of Bengal took place; and, in the settlement which followed, the rule of India was transferred directly to the British Crown.

British conquest.

§ 4. Of the RELIGIONS of India the most widely spread is Hinduism. Its oldest books, the Vedas, were written about 1200 B.C. Their religion is a kind of nature-worship: they contain some high conceptions of God, and also trivial and even degrading directions for worship. They are now very little known in India. They were followed by works on philosophy, law, and history, which it is not needful to mention in detail. The most popular religious books are the Purānas (antiquities), written within the last twelve hundred years, some as late as six hundred years ago, devoted to the history and worship of particular gods. They are all written in Sanskrit —the learned language of India, as Latin is of Europe.

Hinduism. The Vedas.

§ 5. The Hindus believe in ONE UNIVERSAL SPIRIT called the "one without a second," of which they believe man's spirit to be part. The visible universe they call MĀYĀ or delusion, and owing to it they believe men imagine themselves to be distinct from the Supreme Spirit. Some sects, however, believe in the eternity of God, of souls, and of matter. They believe in the TRANSMIGRATION of souls—that the

Dogmas of Hinduism.

soul of man in his present body is being rewarded or punished for what it has done in a previous birth, that at death it must enter some other body, an animal or man, a god or demon, to be recompensed for what it is doing now; that after hundreds of thousands of births the soul's good and evil may be fully recompensed, and it may attain *mukti*—emancipation or salvation, and be reabsorbed in the Supreme Spirit. The law according to which this takes place is KARMA—the Hindu fate. But it is not an arbitrary fate. It means literally deed,

TRIMURTI, OR HINDU TRINITY.

or action. According to it, every act must bear its fruit, and man is reaping now the inevitable fruit of what he has done in a previous birth.

The gods of Hinduism and their worship.

§ 6. The principal gods are BRAHMA, VISHNU, and SIVA. Brahma is not now worshipped. The followers of Vishnu and Siva form the two great sects of India. Vishnu is said to have had no less than ten AVATĀRS, or incarnations, sometimes as an animal, sometimes as a man. The most popular of his Avatārs are RĀMA and KRISHNA. As the

latter he is represented as having been guilty of many vices and crimes, but the Hindus believe he was at liberty to commit them because he was a god. There are multitudes of other gods, whose total number is said to amount to 330,000,000. They are worshipped by means of images, some of which are very hideous: wherever a daub of red paint is seen on a stone, that is considered an object of worship. Turning strings of beads, pilgrimages to holy places, festivals of various kinds, are features of their worship.

§ 7. The most distinguishing feature of Hinduism is the system of CASTE. Its foundation idea is preserving purity of blood by exclusiveness in marriage —members of a caste will marry only within the limits of that caste. This exclusiveness is extended also to eating and drinking, even to touching and to letting the shadow touch. Each caste has generally a distinguishing occupation or profession, which thus becomes hereditary in the caste. There are said to have been originally four castes: the BRAHMANS, or priests; the KSHATRIYAS, or warriors; the VAISYAS, or merchants; and the SUDRAS, or agriculturalists and labourers. There are now practically two great divisions—the Brahmans, and the non-Brahmans, each of which is divided into hundreds of sub-castes, that will not eat or drink with one another. The lower castes may take food from the higher, but not the higher from the lower. The lowest of all castes is that of the MEHTARS, or sweepers, and only a little above them are the various castes of leather workers. The Brahmans are the highest, and are worshipped as gods. Some castes are honest and kind, others untruthful and cruel, and chastity is unknown. Any sin is permitted if it is not forbidden by caste rules. The only sin that cannot

Caste and its divisions.

be forgiven is breaking caste. Anyone who does so becomes an out-caste, socially dead. Hindus consider it pollution to eat with Europeans or Christians.

§ 8. About six hundred years before Christ a great reformation took place in India, chiefly from the teaching of BUDDHA. He ignored the gods, worship, and caste; and taught a very pure morality, by means of which, and by rising from it to asceticism, NIRVĀNA,[1] or freedom from all desire, was to be attained. From that, annihilation was to be reached, the final goal of man. Buddhism at one time spread extensively through India, but it has disappeared from it for ten centuries, though it has spread widely in other Eastern lands. Contemporary with Buddha was MAHĀVĪRA, a saint who taught in somewhat the same lines, but with a much narrower system. His followers, the JAINS, still exist in India in considerable numbers. They are generally men of wealth, and are specially careful not to destroy even insect life. They agree with the Hindus in believing in the power of Karma and the transmigration of souls.[2]

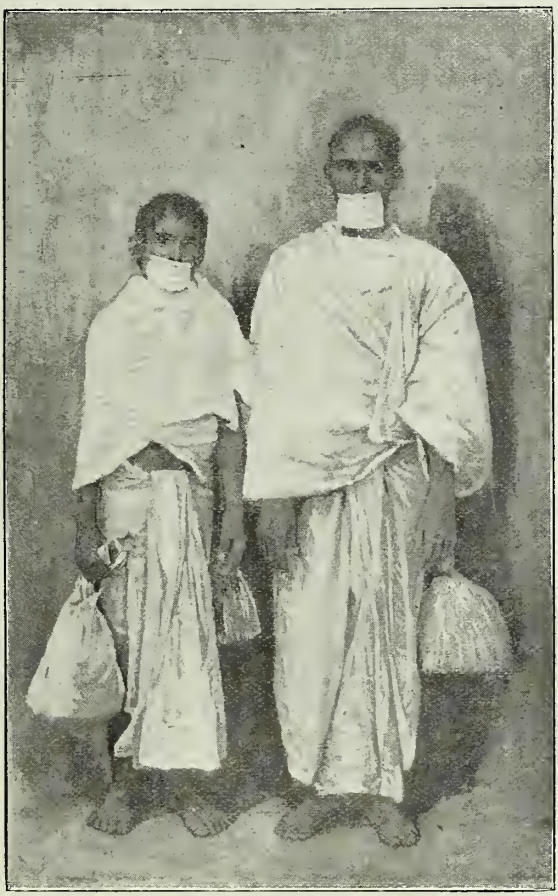
Buddhism and Jainism.

§ 9. The Mohammedans now number about fifty-seven millions in India, descendants of the conquerors of India, or of natives whom they forced to accept their creed. They believe in one God — ALLAH — and MOHAMMED as His prophet. Moses and Jesus they look on as prophets for their times, but Mohammed as the last and most authoritative—his revelation, the KORĀN, superseding all previous ones. It sanctions polygamy and concu-

Mohammedanism.

[1] Nirvāna is now often used to describe final unconscious bliss.

[2] For a full account of the Hindu system, see *Hinduism and its Relations to Christianity*, by the author. (Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier.)



JATI OR JAIN PRIEST AND HIS DISCIPLE.

They both have cloths over their mouths to prevent them drawing in insects when they draw their breath, and brooms in their hands to sweep the ground clear of insects before they sit down, so that they may not destroy life.

binage, and appoints the sword as a means of propagandism. The chief feature of Indian Mohammedanism is the worship of saints—PĪRS. The contact between Mohammedanism and Hinduism produced several sects—PANTHS, or paths, the chief of which are the Kabīr Panth, the Dādu Panth, and the Sīkhs. They are now generally regarded as sects of Hinduism.

Christianity.

§ 10. The Christian religion seems to have been preached in India in the second century, but no permanent Church was then founded. Later on, some Nestorian Christians from Persia settled on the Malabar coast, and founded a Church, which exists to the present day. It numbers about 400,000, but has lost all expansive power. Roman Catholic missions in India began with the settlements of the Portuguese about the beginning of the sixteenth century. The first missionaries baptized numbers of the natives indiscriminately. The descendants of these converts, mingled with the descendants of the first Portuguese, form the Roman Catholic Church in India, which numbers over a million.

Roman Catholic missions.

Protestant missions.

§ 11. Protestant missions to India began in 1706, when Frederick IV., king of Denmark, sent Ziegenbalg and Plutcho to the Danish settlement on the coast of Tranquebar. This mission, which was made illustrious by the labours of the venerable Schwartz, was the only Protestant mission in India till towards the close of the century, by which time it had gathered about 50,000 converts. Its great defect was that it recognised caste among its converts, an evil which was with difficulty subsequently eradicated. In 1793, Carey went out to India, sent by the Baptist Missionary Society, and was afterwards

joined by Marshman and Ward. Since then, one after the other, nearly all the Churches of Great Britain and America, and many of the Protestant Churches of the Continent, have sent missions to take part in the winning of India to Christ. There has now been gathered a Christian community of about 560,000, of whom 182,000 are communicants. It was in the year 1859 that the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland entered this great field; and to the history of its mission we now proceed.

Missionary progress.

BRAHMAN AT WORSHIP.

CHAPTER II

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN MISSION: ITS ORIGIN AND FIELD, RAJPUTANA.

§ 12. The year 1857 was a memorable one in the history of India. In that year the native army of Bengal, by far the largest of the presidencies of India, rose in mutiny. That was the only one of the armies of India in which caste had been regarded, and it was just on this point that judgment came. Rumours spread that the caste of the Sepoys was to be broken; suspicion was aroused; an epidemic of mutiny broke out in regiment after regiment, with a fury and ferocity that appalled the public at home, and awakened fears lest our empire in India might have received its deathblow. Many of the officers were shot on parade. Handfuls of Europeans, including women and children, isolated and surrounded, were, sometimes after a brave resistance, massacred. Others, after heroically withstanding overwhelming odds, were relieved; and as the forces of the empire rallied, and fresh reinforcements arrived from home, the revolt was finally subdued, and a new India seemed to rise out of the ruins of the old. This mutiny had many important results. It led to the Government of India being transferred from the East India Company to

The Mutiny of 1857.

Results of the Mutiny.

the Crown. It led the Christians of Great Britain to consider whether they had been doing their duty to India in giving it the gospel. It led the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland to undertake a mission to that great land.

§ 13. Up to that time our connection with Indian missions had been only incidental. In 1844, Mr. John Murdoch, a young man from Wellington Street Church, Glasgow, went to Ceylon as a teacher under Government. Impressed with the evil effects of the purely secular education given, he resolved to devote himself to the promotion of Christian education. To accomplish this, he gave up his Government appointment, with all its emoluments and prospects, and, receiving promise of support from Wellington Street Church, Glasgow, set himself to carry out his project. In 1855 he was appointed agent of the South India Christian School Book Society. In 1858, when, as a memorial of the Mutiny, the CHRISTIAN VERNACULAR EDUCATION SOCIETY for India was formed, he was appointed its Indian Secretary, half his salary being paid by the United Presbyterian Church. In this capacity he made periodical tours over the whole of India, studying the wants, especially the educational wants, of the various missions; and, returning to his headquarters at Madras, sought to supply them in the books issued by the Society. Thus an admirable educational series was published in English and in many of the vernaculars of India. Normal schools were also established in different centres, in which Christians were trained as school teachers. At its semi-jubilee the Society took a forward step. Having helped to raise a generation that can read, it has set itself to

Work of Dr. John Murdoch.

The Christian Vernacular Education Society.

supply good literature for them to read, and has taken the name of the CHRISTIAN LITERATURE SOCIETY for India. Dr. Murdoch—who in 1872 received the degree of LL.D. from his *alma mater*, the Glasgow University—continues General Secretary for Southern India. Besides this work, he has taken a lead in enforcing on the Government greater care in the selection of books used in their schools and colleges, and there is now a much better tone in them. In all the work done by this Society the United Presbyterian Church has, through Dr. Murdoch, had an honourable connection.

DR. JOHN MURDOCH.

§ 14. But it was felt that as a Church we ought to have a mission of our own in India. At the Synod of 1858 overtures were brought up from various presbyteries, asking the Synod to undertake such a mission. The difficulties seemed almost insurmountable. As has more than once been the case when the

Proposals to begin a mission in India. Difficulties in the way.

Church has been called to a forward movement, the state of the funds seemed to call for retrenchment rather than expansion. For some years the income for foreign missions had failed to meet the expenditure by about £1300. But the spirit of the Church rose to the occasion. The Mission Board came before the Synod with a well-considered scheme. A few friends met on the 27th April, drew up a circular, and issued it to a number of the liberal members of the Church. On Friday the 7th May it was found that £7455 had been promised, to be contributed in five years. Encouraged by this liberality, the Synod resolved "cordially to approve of the overtures; and remit the subject to the Mission Board, with power to undertake a mission to India; and further, to authorise the Board to send deputations to our congregations to deepen their interest in the missions which the Synod has already undertaken, and to call forth the energies of the Church more fully in their support, as well as in the support of the new mission." The result justified their faith. Abundance of money came in for the Indian Mission; the general subscriptions were largely increased; all the missions became solvent; and after five years the Indian Mission was without any difficulty put on the regular funds of the Church.

Spirit of the Church in overcoming them.

§ 15. The Mission Board, through its admirable secretary, Dr. Andrew Sommerville, placed itself in correspondence with the various societies working in India, with the view of selecting the field that might seem most suitable. As the result of the Report presented to it in November of the same year, it selected the province of AJMER, in the centre of RAJPUTANA, as

Ajmer, in the centre of Rajputana, selected.

its mission field; and the Report was given to the Church at full length, occupying the whole of the December *Record* of that year. Copies of it were sent to the secretaries of the other societies. It was everywhere recognised as a most able Report, and the choice of a field as most judicious. The United Presbyterian Church was cordially welcomed to the field in Rajputana, which has till lately, by a tacit understanding, been for the most part left free for it to work in.

§ 16. The field thus entered on was as noble a one as any Church could desire. Rajputana is the name given to the territory lying between 23° and 30° N. lat. and 69° 30′ and 78° 15′ E. long., between Mālwa on the south and the Panjāb on the north, and between Guzerat and Sind on the west and the North-West Provinces on the east. It contains 130,000 square miles. It is divided into two parts, nearly equal in extent, though not in fertility, by the Aravalli range, which runs through it from the borders of Guzerat in a north-easterly direction to Delhi. As far north as Ajmer these hills form one unbroken range, but north of Ajmer they have the character of isolated hills, or small ranges. The highest peaks rise to heights of 3800 feet above the sea, 2000 feet above the plains, and enclose some scenes of rare beauty. Abu is a spur of the Aravallis to the south-west. Its highest point rises to a height of 5653 feet above the sea. The country to the south-east of these hills is the end of the great plain of the Ganges, which here, at a distance of about 1500 miles from the sea, is about 1800 feet above the sea-level. The ground is generally flat, and capable of producing abundant crops where water can be secured. The only perennial streams are the

Position, extent, and physical characteristics of Rajputana.

Chambal and its tributary the Banās, which flow through the south of the region. Artificial lakes and large wells secure extensive irrigation in parts that would otherwise be sterile. To the north-west of the Aravalli hills the ground is much lower, and soon stretches away into the great Indian desert, where for miles nothing but sand meets the eye, and scanty

THE BANAS, RAJMAHAL, DEOLI.

supplies of water are obtained from wells 200 feet deep.

Climate of Rajputana. The three seasons.

§ 17. Owing to its distance inland, the CLIMATE of Rajputana is exposed to greater extremes of heat and cold, and to more frequent failure of rains, than any other part of India. There are three seasons—the hot season, the rains, and the cold season. The weather begins to get hot about the middle of March, and by the middle of April the hot wind blows like the blast of a furnace,

the thermometer rising as high as 110 degrees in the shade. This continues on to the middle or end of June, by which time the fields seem reduced to one uniform expanse of sand, and impalpable dust seems to fill the air. The rains begin usually about the end of June, and continue at intervals as far on as September. The seed is put into the ground at the first fall of the rain, and the crops are ready for cutting about October. The climate during the rainy season is usually sultry and oppressive, and disease comes in its train. The cold weather begins about November, and continues on to the end of February, when the climate is delightful and bracing, though often fatal to those who have been weakened by the heat and the rains, the thermometer frequently falling below the freezing-point in the early morning. The cold-weather crop is raised from irrigation, and is usually ready about the beginning of March. It will be seen that so far as Europeans are concerned there are practically two seasons—the cold season, when they may safely leave their bungalows and live in tents, and the hot season and rains, when they must not be long away from their stations.

The Rajputs and other inhabitants.

§ 18. This territory is inhabited by the principal Hindu castes, but from the fact that the rulers are generally RĀJPŪTS (king's sons) it is called Rājpūtāna. They claim to be descendants of the old Kshatriya or warrior caste, though the Brahmans do not allow the purity of their descent. The oldest rulers of which we have any notice were the AGNI-KUL, or fire races, only one of which—the CHOHĀN—now rules in Rajputana. Others of the Rajputs migrated into the same district, or were driven thither by the Mohammedan conquerors of other parts of India. Here they founded kingdoms, and

maintained a desperate struggle against the Moghul Empire. They were the last to be subdued; the conquest was never complete, and they were the first to throw off the yoke. We have thus in Rajputana Hindu kingdoms preserved through the Mohammedan supremacy much as they were in the days of Alexander. We have the old constitution of society. The Brahmans are the most numerous caste, being about one-eleventh of the population; then come the Jāts, an agricultural and warrior caste, who are about as numerous; then come the commercial castes, the representatives of the ancient Vaisyas, now mostly of the Jain religion; after them the Rajputs; and then the various agricultural and pastoral castes. There are also hill tribes in various parts—the BHILS abound in the hill country of Udaipur, the MERS to the south of Ajmer, and the MINAS to the south-east of the same district. It will thus be seen that, while Rajputana is one of the most interesting, it is also one of the most difficult fields in all India to evangelise, one in which the past history of the people rivets their attachment to their ancestral faith—the inspiration of all that was heroic and stirring in that history.

Difficulties of the field.

§ 19. Rajputana is divided into twenty independent states, some of which, however, are mere chieftainships. Two states to the east, Bhartpur and Dholpur, are ruled by Jāts; one in the centre of the eastern district, Tonk, by Mohammedans; the rest by Rajputs. They are all subject to Great Britain. There is one AGENT of the Viceroy for the whole of Rajputana; under him are RESIDENTS for the more important states, and AGENTS for the less important, grouped as shown in the table at the close of this chapter. These officers

Distribution and political organisation of the Rajput states.

RAJPUTS.

have to see that the conditions required by the suzerain power are carried out, and during minorities are virtually regents.

The three principal states are JAIPUR to the east, MEWĀR or Udaipur to the south, and MĀRWĀR or Jodhpur to the west. The Rajputs distinguish them thus: Jaipur for wealth, Marwar for land, Mewar for

NATIVE CHIEFS (JAT SIRDARS), NORTH INDIA.

honour. In the centre of these kingdoms and contiguous to them all is the district of AJMER. It lies across the Aravalli hills, just at the point where the continuous range ceases and the isolated ranges begin, leaving easy access from one side to the other. It is thus the key of Rajputana, and has been always held by the suzerain power. It passed from the Mohammedans to the Mahrattas, and from them to the British. As this was

Position and advantages of Ajmer and Merwara.

a good military and political centre, it seemed likely to be a good mission centre. Here, too, the protection of the British power was enjoyed. To the south of Ajmer, also under British rule, was the district of MERWĀRĀ. BEĀWAR, the chief town in that district, was fixed on as the first station; and AJMER CITY, in the northern district, as the second.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II

TABLE I. POLITICAL DIVISIONS AND NATIVE STATES OF RAJPUTANA

Political divisions.		States.	Ruling caste.	Area in square miles.	Revenue.	Population.
					£	
Mewār Residency	1	Mewār	Sisodiā Rajput	12,753	510,000	1,727,899
	2	Banswāra and Kushilgarh	,, ,,	1,946	28,000	186,043
	3	Dungarpur	,, ,,	1,447	20,000	98,448
	4	Partābgarh	,, ,,	886		87,975
Jhalāwār Superintendency	5	Jhālāwar	Jhalla ,,	2,722	150,000	343,601
Kotah Agency	6	Kotah	Hārā, Chohān Rajput	3,784	295,000	526,267
Hārāoti Agency	7	Bundi	,, ,,	2,220	60,000	295,675
	8	Tonk	Mohammedan	1,113	120,000	198,934
	9	Shāhpura (Chiefship)	Sisodiā Rajput	405	3,500	63,646
Eastern States Agency	10	Hārāoti	Jadūn ,,	1,242	50,000	156,587
	11	Dholpur	Jāt	1,154	110,000	279,890
	12	Bhartpur	,,	1,982	280,000	640,803
Alwar Agency	13	Alwar	Narūka Rajput	3,144	230,000	767,787
Jaipur Residency	14	Jaipur	Kachwāha ,,	15,579	500,000	2,832,276
	15	Kishangarh	Rahtōr ,,	858	28,000	125,516
	16	Lāwā (Thakurate)	,, ,,	19		3,360
Mārwār Residency	17	Mārwār	,, ,,	34,963	400,000	2,519,868
	18	Sirohi	Chohān ,,	1,964		186,025
	19	Jaisalmer	Jadūn ,,	16,062	12,000	115,701
Bikaner Agency	20	Bikauer	Rahtor ,,	23,173	125,000	831,955
				127,416		11,987,755
			In cantonments	...	...	2,749
			Hill tribes not enumerated above	...	...	229,839
						12,220,343
		Ajmer and Merwārā	British	2,710		542,358
				130,126		12,762,701

The figures are from the Census of 1891, with the exception of the Revenue which is from the *Indian Gazetteer*.

Table II

RELIGIOUS STATISTICS OF RAJPUTANA

Religions.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Hindus	5,407,526	4,784,932	10,192,458
Aryas	251	120	371
Jains	206,361	211,257	417,618
Sikhs	717	399	1,116
Parsis	138	100	238
Mohammedans	525,839	465,512	991,351
Native Christians	1,038	817	1,855
Jews	9	6	15
Animistic	198,562	186,918	385,480
No Religion	2	...	2
	6,340,443	5,650,061	11,990,504
Unenumerated	115,165	114,674	229,830
	6,455,608	5,764,735	12,220,334

Table III

STATISTICS OF CHRISTIANS

	In Rajput States.	In Ajmer District.	Total.
Europeans	765	838	1,603
Eurasians	444	636	1,080
Native Converts	646	1,209	1,855
	1,855	2,683	4,538

Table IV

STATISTICS OF THE PRINCIPAL CASTES

1.	Brahman		1,135,397
2.	Jāt (agricultural)		1,054,200
3.	Mahājan (mercantile)	Hindu . 468,087 Jain . 401,512	869,599
4.	Chamār (leather workers)		846,616
5.	Rajpūt		748,868
6.	Bhil (hill tribes)		743,700
7.	Gujar (pastoral)		572,569
8.	Mina (hill tribes)		536,917
9.	Mālī (gardener)		358,234
10.	Kumhār (potter)		297,285
11.	Balāi		282,491
12.	Rahāri		211,808
13.	Khāti (carpenter)		207,840
14.	Bhāmbi		207,152
15.	Ahīr (pastoral)		156,464
16.	Hajjām		149,672
17.	Meo (semi-Mohammedan)		145,184
18.	Sunār (goldsmith)		81,928
19.	Mehtar (sweeper)		81,096
20.	Chāran (bards)		48,430
21.	Moghia		35,073
22.	Dadu Panths (Nāgās, male celibates)		16,016

CHAPTER III

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE MISSION—FIRST PERIOD—FAMINE OF 1869—ORPHANS.

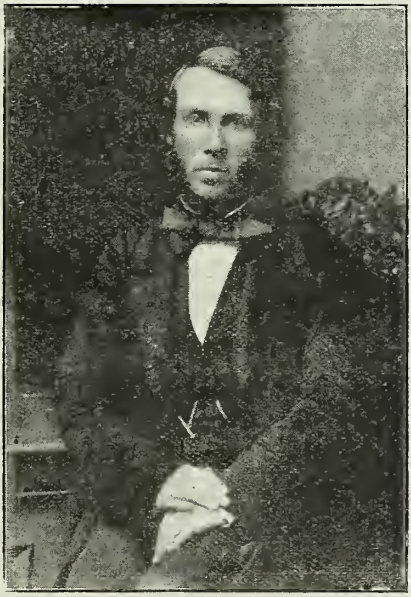
§ 20. To each of the two stations fixed upon it was resolved to send two missionaries. A notice was inserted in the *Missionary Record* calling for four probationers or ministers to offer for the work. There was at first little response. Only two preachers offered themselves and were approved, Williamson Shoolbred and Thomas Steele. They were ordained, the former by the Presbytery of Dunfermline, and the latter by that of Edinburgh, and after enthusiastic valedictory meetings in Edinburgh and in Glasgow, they sailed at the end of September 1859. After a pleasant voyage of about a month, broken by the transit across Egypt, they reached Bombay, and were received by Dr. and Mrs. Wilson of the Free Church Mission there. Dr. John Wilson was well known as a missionary, a scholar, and a public man. He was interested in all missions, and he and his like-minded wife laid our mission under a deep obligation by accompanying the pioneer missionaries to see them settled in their field of labour.

Appointment and sailing of Messrs. Shoolbred and Steele.

§ 21. Railways had then only begun in India, and were not yet available for the journey to Rajputana. By steamer to Surat, where the Irish Presbyterian Church had a mission, and from there, by daily stages of from

fifteen to twenty-five miles on horseback or in bullock-cart, the journey could be performed in five or six weeks. This mode of travelling was not unpleasant for those who had strength to rough it a little, and there was a continuous change of scene that added to the interest, and often made it very enjoyable. But for this health was neeessary, and unfortunately Mr. Steele's health gave way. A little disorder, that might have been checked in the beginning, being neglected, soon gained the upper hand; and though, under good medical treatment at the stations they passed, it seemed to be arrested and they were able to proceed, it continued to gain ground. At Erinpura, about 120 miles from Beawar, Mr. Steele became so ill that he could proceed no farther, and after lingering for some time, carefully nursed by Mr. Shoolbred and Dr. Eddowes, surgeon of the Erinpura Bhīl

Journey up country.



REV. THOMAS BLAIR STEELE.

Illness and death of Mr. Steele.

Corps, he fell asleep, on the confines of the land he had hoped to possess for Christ. Like Abraham in Canaan, the first possession of the United Presbyterian Church in Rajputana was a tomb.

§ 22. Before his death he saw the first-fruits of the mission gathered in. In the company of the mission party was a Kashmiri Brahman, of the name of Chinta Rām, taking advantage of their convoy to return from Bombay to Kashmir. He had been instructed in Christian truth in Bombay; on the way up country, in company of the missionaries, it took greater hold of his mind. At last he expressed his wish to confess Christ; and Dr. Wilson, satisfied of his knowledge and sincerity, received him by baptism into the Christian Church, and Mr. Shoolbred engaged him as helper.

First-fruits of the mission.

§ 23. As the hot weather was coming on, and Dr. and Mrs. Wilson required to be back in Bombay before it became intense, they left Erinpura for Beawar a few days before Mr. Steele's death. Mr. Shoolbred followed after, accompanied not by the Scottish brother whom he had hoped to have with him, but by the native brother[1] who had been given in his place, and reached Beawar on 6th March 1860, where they were met by Dr. Wilson and Dr. Small, surgeon of the native force there. Dr. and Mrs. Wilson had to leave almost immediately, returning by Ajmer, Nasirabad, and Central India to Bombay, which they reached about the middle of April.

Opening of first station.

§ 24. Before giving an account of the work done at Beawar and at the other stations, it may be well to give

[1] Chinta Rām continued an agent of the mission till 1878, when his connection with it ceased—he still continuing a member of the church in Beawar.

an account of the general development of the mission, and of the methods of work adopted at most or all of the stations. The history of the mission up to the present time may be divided into three sections: the first ending with the great famine of 1869 at the close of the first decade, and the second with the formation of the Rajputana Presbytery at the close of the second decade.

Three periods of the history of the mission.

§ 25. The death of Mr. Steele, so far from retarding the mission, proved under God's blessing just what was needful for quickening interest in it. The picturesque and powerful letters which Mr. Shoolbred sent home, and which were published in the *Record*, must also be taken into account in producing this result. On receiving news of Mr. Steele's death, the Mission Board resolved to increase the mission staff to six instead of four, as was originally intended, and before the close of the year the five additional agents were practically secured. They did not, however, all go out at once. Mr. and Mrs. John Robson and Mr. and Mrs. William Martin left at the close of 1860; the following year, Mr. and Mrs. Auguste Glardon and Dr. and Mrs. Valentine went out; and in the following year, Mr. and Mrs. William Robb. By that time the horizon of the mission was widening, and others continued to come, till at the close of the first decade twenty-two Europeans had joined the mission.

Increased interest in the mission at home.

New agents appointed.

§ 26. But there were heavy losses during these years. Besides Mr. Steele, Mrs. Valentine died at Bombay, on her way home, in February 1863. Mrs. James Gray died at Ajmer in 1865, and Mrs. William Martin at Nasirabad in 1866.

Losses during the first ten years.

Mr. Drynan, in 1867, succumbed to an attack of cholera at Beawar. He was a man of talent, perseverance, and devotion; he had been a non-commissioned officer in the army, which he left for the mission, on which, during his short period of service, he left his mark. Dr. Robert Gray died in 1869; he had completed his divinity course before studying medicine, and the strain of his studies seems to have sown seeds of disease, which in a hot climate took a fatal development, and ended his career before he had much opportunity of exercising his gifts in the field to which he had devoted himself. Mr. Glardon, who joined the mission from the Free Church of Geneva, was obliged to resign. On the way out he had an attack of ague, which, being neglected, turned at Bombay into serious brain fever. He recovered sufficiently to go up country and begin work at Ajmer, which gave rare promise of future usefulness. But he never recovered from the shock he had received, and he was obliged to go home in 1863. In 1865 he returned with apparently restored health, but after a few months' trial was obliged finally to abandon the field. Since then he has settled in Vevey, and has done good service in stirring up the missionary spirit in Switzerland and among the French Protestant Church. Dr. Shields was obliged by his health to leave in 1867, when he proceeded to Australia. Miss Alexander had also to leave the mission in 1869. Thus, at the close of the decade, only twelve of the twenty-two who had joined remained—seven missionaries, three missionaries' wives, one lay missionary, and one Zenana agent.

§ 27. The chief feature of the work during this period was the occupying of the British district. The missionaries who went out at first, under the impulse of the enthusiasm awakened by the beginning of the

mission and the death of Mr. Steele, looked on themselves as called on to occupy Rajputana not only for Christ, but for the United Presbyterian Church as its special field. Rajputana was not like other fields. It was a group of about a score of states, each of which was a separate unit, and could be evangelised only from its capital. There thus always loomed before them the ideal of a mission in each of at least a dozen of the more important states of Rajputana —an ideal not yet realised. It was necessary, however, to occupy thoroughly the British territory before advancing farther. The first step towards this was the opening of a station at NASIRABAD in 1861 by Mr. William Martin. It had been originally intended that Ajmer should be the second station, but circumstances led to the work being begun in Nasirabad. The three missionaries in the field united in making a joint recommendation to the Mission Board, and secured its approval. This was the beginning of a practice that soon became a regular institution in the mission, of having a CONFERENCE of all the agents twice a year. At it all important steps were discussed, and arrangements made for the management of general schemes, such as the examination of teachers and of native agents. These were occasions of friendly intercourse and of spiritual communion that greatly helped the life of the mission. AJMER was occupied in 1862, and TODGARH in 1863. Dr. Valentine settled in JAIPUR in 1866, but it was not for some years after recognised as a station of the mission.

Occupation of the British district.

Formation of the Conference.

§ 28. In this period the various methods of work were set agoing that have since been continued in the mission. SCHOOLS were opened at the various stations and adjoining villages, with an aggregate roll of about 2300

at the close of 1868. BAZAR PREACHING was carried on, and ITINERANCIES made in the cold weather. Tracts and Gospels were issued from the PRESS, and the value of MEDICINE as an aid to evangelisation had been shown. The first converts, too, had been gathered in at all the stations, and by the close of 1869 there was a CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY of about fifty, with a church membership of twenty-six.

Methods and results of work during this period.

§ 29. The FAMINE of 1868–70 marked the close of this period of the mission. The rains, which had been defective for two or three years previously, failed altogether in 1868. At the close of the rainy season, throughout the northern and western portions of Rajputana, the lakes and wells were lower than they had been at the close of the hot season. The fields and jungles were a stretch of sand instead of being covered with grass, and water was being sold in some parts at an ana (1½d.) per jar. Children were sold by their parents for sums varying from one to five rupees. In the wake of the famine came disease, especially cholera, which decimated a population already weakened by hunger. The rains of 1869 were good, and there was prospect of a fair crop. But the protracted drought had given occasion to the locusts to breed in unprecedented numbers. They swooped down on the growing crops and utterly destroyed them. This last blow seemed to take the spirit entirely out of the agricultural population, and they raised only a small cold-weather crop. The year 1870 brought good rains; the villages began again to be inhabited, and things resumed their normal appearance; but not until a million and a quarter of people had perished.

Famine of 1868-70.

§ 30. The small district of Ajmer and Merwara was

the only part of the smitten district under the British Government, and the only part for which they did anything. The only Europeans in Rajputana besides the Government officials were the missionaries, and they were short-handed, Mr. Shoolbred being home on a much-needed furlough. The only part of the British public that did anything for the relief of the famine-stricken was the members of the United Presbyterian Church. They, chiefly through the Children's New Year Offering, sent out about £5500 for this purpose. That money was distributed in relief mainly to refugees from native states. A labour test was required as far as possible, and some works done that were of permanent value to the native Christians. It was only comparatively few who could be rescued in this way, yet there were hundreds whose lives were thus preserved, and who returned to distant parts of Rajputana with some knowledge of the gospel, and with the memory of its practical exemplification in the relief that had been extended to them.

Missionaries engaged on famine relief.

§ 31. A fresh call on the liberality of the Church came in the ORPHANS left by the famine. Some orphans had been brought to Beawar at the close of 1861; thus an ORPHANAGE had been begun, which before the famine numbered about twenty. These had found members of the Church ready to adopt and support them; but the receipt of a telegram sent to the Board, "May we take eight hundred orphans, or how many?" let the Church know the additional demand that would be made on them. The Church rose to the occasion. By a special effort, in which again the gifts of the children largely figured, £4750 were raised for initial expenses; and by a plan

Origin of the Orphanage.

Eight hundred orphans left by the famine and adopted by the Church.

devised by Dr. MacGill, the large-hearted Secretary of the Board, members of the Church adopted individual orphans, making themselves responsible for their support till they became self-supporting. So heartily was the scheme taken up, that there were soon more adopters than orphans. A telegram was sent back authorising the missionaries to take as many as were offered. Telegraphic communication with India was not then in good working order. It was some weeks before the reply was received; but the missionaries, relying on the spirit of the Church, had intimated to Government that they would undertake the charge of all the orphans that they might hand over, as well as those that had been left on their own hands. Owing to a terrible mortality among them, the total number that finally came under their care was a little under five hundred. These were at first distributed among the four stations; and so it continued till 1881, when those not yet settled in life were gathered in Beawar. The Orphanage continued to be maintained there till 1889, when nearly all the orphans had become self-supporting. By this time boys' and girls' boarding-schools had been established at Nasirabad. To them the few remaining orphans were transferred, and in them or in the homes of native Christians any who have come in since are provided for.

Disposal of the survivors.

§ 32. The Church has been well repaid for its interest in the orphans. Only about 7 per cent. turned out unsatisfactory. Of 253 boys, about 70 entered the professions, and are now ministers, doctors, or teachers; the rest are in one way or other earning a livelihood, some a competency. All the girls have been married. They are with few exceptions church members. The character

Fruits of the Orphanage.

of their membership is very much like that of church members at home, reared in the Christian faith, but modified by the influence of race, of hereditary taint, and of early heathen association. Many have died, others have been attracted to other mission fields; but in nearly all our mission churches the orphans form a large element; and however defective they may be, yet among them are to be found the backbone of our churches and the most reliable of our native agents.

NATIVE TRAVELLING—OLD STYLE.

CHAPTER IV

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE MISSION—SECOND AND THIRD PERIODS—ZENANA MISSION.

§ 33. The Rajputana Mission, during the second period of its history, from 1870 to 1880, was strengthened by the accession of ten missionaries, ten missionaries' wives, and one Zenana agent.[1] It had to mourn the loss by death of Mr. Gavin Martin at Nasirabad in 1874, Mrs. M'Alister at Ajmer in 1875, Mrs. Traill at Jaipur in 1876, and Mrs. William Martin at Ashapura in 1879. Mr. and Mrs. Robson had to go home in bad health —the latter at the close of 1870, and the former at the close of 1871. Mr. and Mrs. Hendrie had to leave in 1877. Dr. Valentine, owing to special circumstances, severed his connection with the mission in 1878. At the close of this period there were connected with the mission twenty-four European agents —thirteen missionaries, one lay missionary, eight married ladies, and two Zenana agents. But as two or three had to be at home every year on furlough, the actual numbers on the field were less.

Increase of the mission staff during the second period.

§ 34. These numbers enabled the Church to carry out its plan of CONSOLIDATING the work in the British district and ENTERING NATIVE STATES. The station at Deoli, in the

[1] See list in Appendix.

south-east of the Ajmer district, was opened in the beginning of 1870 by Mr. William Bonnar. In 1872 the agricultural village of Ashapura was formed, where Mr. William Martin ultimately settled. In the same year the first decided step towards entering the native states was taken by the settlement of Mr. Traill at JAIPUR alongside of Dr. Valentine. In 1876 the Conference appointed deputations to visit Udaipur, Jodhpur, and Kotah, to report as to the practicability of opening stations in them. All these reported favourably, but UDAIPUR was the only one which the Church had the men and means to occupy at the time. Dr. Shepherd, who had been one of the deputation, settled there in 1877. Special circumstances led to ALWAR being next occupied in 1880, when Mr. Jameson settled there. One feature of the work during this period was the development of MEDICAL MISSIONS. Of the new missionaries who joined, four were medical missionaries, and medical missions were established in Beawar, Ajmer, and Nasirabad and Udaipur. Steps were also taken to prepare a NATIVE MINISTRY. A theological class was formed at Beawar under the tuition of Mr. Shoolbred, at which some of the more advanced native agents received special instruction with a view to ordination.

Features of the work during this period.

New stations.

Medical missions and theological training.

§ 35. But the most important feature of the mission during this period was the visit of a DEPUTATION from the Home Church, towards its close. Some divergences of opinion as to a case of discipline and as to methods of work had produced dissensions among the missionaries, which, as they are past, there is no need to detail. Dr. Valentine's position in Jaipur also occasioned discussion, more fully

Causes of dissension in the mission.

referred to in the account of the Jaipur Mission. The dissensions occasioned by these events were echoed at home; the confidence with which the mission had been hitherto regarded was shaken, and it was decided to send out a deputation to confer with the missionaries. Dr. David Young, of Woodlands Church, Glasgow, and Duncan M'Laren, jun., of Edinburgh, were sent for this purpose in the cold weather of 1879–80. They visited all the stations of the mission, saw the missionaries separately and in conference, and happily succeeded in removing misunderstandings, and in putting things on a basis which has secured their working smoothly since. On their return they presented an able Report, containing recommendations which were all more or less carried out, with great advantage to the mission.

Appointment of a deputation to visit the mission.

§ 36. Among these was one that a presbytery of Rajputana should be constituted. A petition to this effect had been presented to the Synod in 1879, but was allowed to lie over pending the visit of the deputies. At the Synod of 1880 it was cordially granted, and the ordained missionaries on the field, along with a representative elder from each congregation, were appointed to meet in presbytery at Beawar on 12th October, Dr. Shoolbred moderator. It did not remain long idle. On 27th October 1880 it ordained Dr. James Shepherd to the office of the ministry; in 1883 it ordained Dr. Husband, and a little later, Dr. Sommerville. This enabled them to take full pastoral as well as medical charge of stations in which they were located. In 1884 the first five native preachers were licensed — Hasan Ali, Manāwir Khān, Amrah Singh, Rāma, and Devī Rām.

Formation of the Rajputana Presbytery.

Ordination of medical missionaries; licensing of native preachers.

The first three had been employed as catechists for some time, and received their theological training at the stations to which they belonged. The last two were lads from the Nasirabad Orphanage, who had received their theological training—the one in the Theological College of the American Presbyterian Church at Saharanpur, the other in the Methodist Theological College at Bareilly.

§ 37. During the third period of the mission, from the formation of a presbytery to the present day, it has been further strengthened by the arrival of eight missionaries and seven missionaries' wives, besides Zenana agents. It has had to mourn the loss of two missionaries: Mr. Wm. Martin died in October 1883, and in 1888 Mr. A. D. Gray resigned on account of his wife's health. Mr. Gray joined the mission in 1876. Owing to the exigencies of the mission during his connection with it, he was called to take charge of several stations in succession, where he did efficient service, but he had not the opportunity of developing a distinctive work of his own. Three ladies died: the first Mrs. Bonnar in 1887 at Deoli, and the second Mrs. Bonnar in 1891 at Kotah; in the same year Mrs. M'Quistan died at Ashapura after a long illness. It will be seen that the general health of the mission has been much better during this last period than during the first. The conditions of living in Rajputana are now much better understood than they were at first, and the extension of railways has made it much easier to go to the hills to recruit. The effect of railways has been seen in another way. There was in 1891–92 a famine in Rajputana quite as severe as that of 1868–70, but, by means of railways,

Changes in the mission staff during the third period of the mission.

Improved state of health.

supplies were poured into the country so abundantly as to keep down the price of grain and prevent starvation.

§ 38. The most important feature of the mission during this period has been the development of the ZENANA work. It has long been evident in India that until the women are reached, the effort to christianise the land will be hopeless, and that not by ordinary missionary methods, but only by women can the women be reached. In pre-Mohammedan times the women of India enjoyed a freedom and respect which they do not now enjoy. The licence of their conquerors compelled the Hindus to keep their women in seclusion. Among the well-to-do classes they are kept entirely apart as *pardah* women (curtained women), and shut up in zenanas (women's quarters), and all who can afford it have such quarters. Here dwell the wife of the head of the family, his mother if she is still alive, his daughters till they are married, the wives of his sons after they are married, possibly also the wives of his younger brothers. They are all ruled by the grandmother while she lives, and after her death by the wife or senior wife of the head of the family. They have little intercourse with the outer world, except visiting the temples and going to religious festivals. They are rooted in their old ideas and prejudices, and seem incapable of receiving light from outside. The poorer Hindus are of course unable to surround their women with such precautions, but there is a sort of moral wall which keeps them separate and excluded from enlightening influence. The head of the family himself may be convinced of the truth of Christianity, and

Zenana missions.

Position of women in India.

ready to break with easte, but he has to reckon with the conservatism of the zenana. It is thus manifest that one half of the population, without which the other half will not move, is inaeeessible to the ordinary means of evangelisation, and requires separate measures to be taken for its benefit.

§ 39. From the beginning of the mission the missionaries' wives did what they eould in the way of instrueting the women they had aecess to. In 1866, Mrs. Drynan, when left a widow by the death of her husband, remained in the country and devoted herself to work among the women. She was Swiss, and in 1874 she was joined by a fellow-countrywoman, Mdlle. Guillaumet, who was for a time supported by the Swiss Churehes. But in 1880, after the Zenana mission had been regularly organised as a separate department at home, Zenana agents began to eome out in greater numbers. Nearly every year saw the arrival of one or more, till now, in all, twenty new agents have been sent out, making with the two original agents twenty-two in all. But of these nine have, for various reasons, had to withdraw, leaving thirteen agents at present earrying on this important seetion of the work in Rajputana.

First work among women.

Zenana mission undertaken.

§ 40. There are now in 1894, besides these Zenana agents, twenty missionaries in the field, ineluding those at home on furlough, sixteen missionaries' wives, and one lay missionary. Two additional stations have been oecupied, Jodhpur in 1885 and Kotah in 1889, so that we have now five stations in the five prineipal states of Rajputana, and five in the British distriet, besides out-stations. At these a Christian eommunity of upwards of 1200 has

Present position of the mission.

been gathered, of whom more than 500 are church members. The incidents connected with the ingathering of these can best be given under the history of the separate stations. But before proceeding to this, a little may be said on the methods of work.

A SOLITARY GRINDER.

CHAPTER V

METHODS OF WORK.

§ 41. UNDER Methods of Work the statement of the educational question will require the greatest space, and thereafter something will be said regarding the other methods.

Education as a mission agency.

Education has been a prominent agency in all Protestant missions, and it has taken in each field a form determined by the circumstances of that field. Two factors have influenced it in India, the native literature and Government education. The ancient language of India was SANSKRIT, and it is the basis of most of the vernaculars in India. Its alphabet, too, is the basis of most of the alphabets, and is adopted without any modification for the HINDI which is used in Rajputana. The literature in these languages was not extensive before the rise of English education, and was mostly reproductions of old Sanskrit literature, often of a very debasing character. When the Mohammedan conquerors entered India, they brought their language, literature, and alphabet with them. The language and literature were PERSIAN, and the alphabet a modification of Arabic, written from right to left. Coming into contact with the natives of the land, a new dialect sprang up, called URDU—the language of

Influence of native literature in India.

the camp (*horde*), which ultimately became a *lingua franca* throughout India. No books were written in it, till, early in this century, some translations from the Persian were made, at the instance of the English rulers; but it has now developed a large literature. The Urdu (or HINDUSTANI, as it is also called) is used by the Mohammedans, and Hindi by the Hindus, so that a Vernacular school may include the teaching of both of these languages or dialects.

§ 42. The teaching of ENGLISH did not occupy a prominent place in India till Dr. Duff saw what an important use could be made of it, and established his college at Calcutta. He gave a great impulse to its being taken up by Government, and Government education has developed widely since. Besides establishing schools and colleges at which English and vernacular languages both are taught, the Government has established universities with which mission and native colleges may become affiliated. These explain the two forms of schools that have been established in the Rajputana Mission—the VERNACULAR and the ANGLO-VERNACULAR. The latter were first established, and there is one at each of the central stations except Jodhpur and Kotah. In them all, the basis of education is vernacular. After some progress has been made, the boys are taught English in various grades as far as an entrance to the university. In all of these schools an hour's religious instruction is given daily—to the beginners from an elementary catechism, to those more advanced from the vernacular Bible, and to the farthest advanced from the English Bible. Besides this, all the school books used are permeated with Christian truth. The

English schools; Government education.

Two kinds of schools in Rajputana Mission.

Anglo-Vernacular schools.

Hindus have never shown any fear of their sons being taught the Bible; they have often shown more objection to their being taught English, in case they might thereby by some mysterious process be made Christians.

§ 43. Early in the history of the mission the battle of CASTE was fought out in connection with these schools. A MEHTAR, or sweeper—the lowest of the castes—entered the school at Beawar. The other castes

NATIVE SCHOOL.

demanded that he should be expelled, and this being refused, they deserted in a body, the attendance falling in one day from eighty-four to fifteen. With these fifteen the school was continued as usual, and gradually filled up again. In Nasirabad and Ajmer, where Anglo-Vernacular schools were at that time established, similar crises occurred. For some time the Christian dogma of the Brotherhood of Man was proclaimed by empty benches. In both, the

Caste in the schools.

crisis was ultimately overcome, though more slowly in Ajmer, where caste feeling was much stronger than in the other places. The caste that occasioned the disturbance did not show much appreciation of the sacrifices made for them, as they soon disappeared from the schools. It is probable that the other castes, finding they could not constrain the missionaries, intimidated the Mehtars and induced them to withdraw. It has been found that the most effectual way to reach them is to have special schools for them.

§ 44. The Vernacular schools are mostly in the villages, though there are some also in the bazars at the central stations. While India has an ancient literature, it must not be supposed that the Hindus are an educated people. Only a few of the castes learn to read at all, and some of these are educated only in so far as the business of their caste—such as keeping accounts or conducting law business—is concerned. These village schools had for object the training up of children to read their own language, and to imbue them with a knowledge of Christian truth. The teachers were at first almost entirely Hindu or Mohammedan. To them was intrusted only the secular education of the children. The missionary or catechist visited once a week or fortnight, examined the classes, and gave the Bible lesson. As these examinations were the occasion of the gathering of the parents of the children and others, an audience was secured to hear the gospel under the most favourable auspices. The teachers, too, were required to come to the central station once a week to receive some training in general knowledge and specially in gospel truth. One or two of the best converts in the mission have been from among these village pundits.

Vernacular schools.
Evangelising centres.
Non-Christian teachers.

§ 45. The employment of such teachers was at first a matter of necessity if there was to be general education at all. When the school was opened at Beawar, it was at first taught by Mr. Shoolbred and Chinta Rām. It was too obviously a waste of strength for them to give themselves wholly to this work while so much evangelistic work was waiting to be done, so that Hindus and Mohammedans were employed for the secular branches; and the school system was developed for some time on the principle of keeping the religious education in the hands of Christian agents, and leaving the general branches to non-Christian. This, however, was evidently not an ideal system of Christian education. The missionaries were perhaps a little supine in not training up and retaining Christian teachers from among the converts and orphans, several of whom were attracted to other missions by the offer of higher pay. This occasioned much discussion at home, and at last systematic efforts began to be made to have an entirely Christian agency in the schools. A NORMAL SCHOOL has been established at Beawar, in the old Orphanage, at which Christian teachers are being trained, and in a short time it is to be hoped that there will be only such in all the schools connected with the mission. A boys' BOARDING-SCHOOL has been established at Nasirabad, where higher Christian influence is brought to bear on the sons of native converts, developing in them a higher Christian manhood. The average attendance at the mission schools in Rajputana is between four and five thousand. The direct results from them have not as yet been abundant, but a generation has been trained up in them acquainted with the

Rise of the system.

Change of system.

Special efforts for educating Christians.

Educational results.

Bible, and with the faith in their own religious system shaken.

§ 46. From the beginning of the mission the schools at the central stations were always used on Sunday for evangelistic meetings. As the number of converts began to multiply, Sabbath schools were also started in them and in other convenient localities, at which purely religious instruction was given. In this work, as at home, a number of native Christians besides the agents of the mission are employed. The number of Sabbath scholars is now upwards of 3500.

Sabbath schools.

§ 47. Bazar preaching is perhaps the means of propagating the truth most extensively employed in the mission. It does not call for much explanation. It is much the same as open-air preaching in this country. The climatic conditions of India make it an agency that can be much more systematically employed, and the Hindus are generally ready to listen tolerantly to all exposition of religious truth. Sometimes there are animated discussions at such meetings, especially when they are first begun in a new quarter. But a little practice soon enables the preacher to conduct these in such a way as to prevent the continuity of the address being broken, and they afford good chances for a new presentation of truth. In the older stations they are listened to very much as matters of course, though with apparently in most cases complete indifference.

Bazar preaching.

§ 48. The PRESS supplies another means of propagandism. Bibles, Testaments, Gospels, and tracts in the vernacular have been distributed. COLPORTAGE has been employed from the very beginning of the mission, a sum being always

Colportage.

charged for the books a little above the value of the paper. In some of the stations a bookshop is opened in one of the main bazars, where books are sold, and where there are good opportunities for holding meetings and having private interviews. Most of the tracts there sold have been supplied by the Book and Tract Societies of India. A lithographic press was early established at Beawar, and more recently a printing press has been established at Ajmer. A monthly vernacular paper, entitled the *Hitarth Patrika*, is issued from this press, and some consecutive articles written in it have been republished as tracts and booklets. But it is a matter of regret that our missionaries have not done more in this department, considering the ability of the men we have. Two of them, Messrs. Robb and Gray, have been employed in the Committee for revising the Hindi Bible, and some tracts and books on Christian apologetics and the Hindu controversy were written in the beginning of this mission; but the weapon has not been employed as it might have been. Perhaps the large amount of work our missionaries have to do is to blame for this.

Lithographic and printing presses.

§ 49. Medical work was begun early in the history of the Rajputana Mission. Dr. Valentine settled in Beawar in 1862, and removed to Jaipur in 1866. But, as has already been noticed, it was not till after 1870 that the work was fully and systematically developed. There are two ways principally in which medical work powerfully helps evangelistic work: it breaks down prejudice, and it gives a favourable opportunity for impressing the truths of the gospel. This was the main feature of the medical work done during the first period of the mission. But there is also the teaching the gospel to the sick who

Medical work: its double effect.

come to be healed, and whose hearts are opened by the care and love shown in the effort to cure them. This form of work has been more developed during the later years of the mission. It involves more expense, as it requires the building and maintaining of hospitals such as have been established in Ajmer, Nasirabad, Udaipur, and Jodhpur, and it ties the missionary more down to one centre, but it also secures more concentrated and more directly effective work.

§ 50. The missionary stations can affect only those resident there or within a few miles round. There are vast districts containing many large villages which can be reached only by occasional visitations. During the hot season and rains little can be done beyond the stations, but from the beginning of November to the end of February, when the climate is delightful and admits of Europeans moving about without danger, tours are arranged, and numbers of villages and towns visited that cannot be visited at other times. On these occasions the gospel is preached in the bazars and market-places, Testaments and Gospels and tracts sold, and sometimes medical work is also done. These itinerancies are conducted on different plans, sometimes that of staying long at one or two important centres, and sometimes staying only a day or two at each place, seeing as many places as possible in one itinerancy, and going the next year to follow up the work, the aim being to sow the seed as widely as possible.

Itinerancies.

§ 51. The methods of Zenana work are in some respects the same as other mission work. Bazar preaching is of course not undertaken by the Zenana agents, but dispensaries and hospitals specially for women are conducted on the same lines as those for men. Girls' schools are also conducted

Methods of Zenana work.

on the same lines as boys' schools, and considerable progress is being made with female education. It had been begun early in the history of the mission, but the progress was not great. When the Zenana mission started, there were only about 200 girls receiving education to about 4000 boys. Since then the progress has been steady, and in 1892 there were 743 girls to 4670 boys. A boarding-school has been established at Nasirabad for the daughters of Christian parents—the parents paying the board, and the mission supplying the education. Under the efficient superintendence of Miss Anderson, this school has been highly successful. In 1892 there were 70 boarders and 10 day scholars, all receiving a good practical education, preparing them to be the wives of a rising generation of Christian men, and making them know what Christian homes should be. But the distinctive feature of Zenana work is that from which it takes its name—visiting the zenanas or women's apartments of those houses whose women are not allowed to appear in public.[1] To these homes the Zenana agents go periodically, having often to make their way in the heat through narrow lanes with offensive smells, up steep stairs into meagrely furnished rooms. There they have meetings with the women of the house, sometimes only two or three, sometimes more. They read with them, teach them to sing hymns, to read, and to acquire other branches of learning as may be desired. It is obvious that under such conditions the work of the Zenana agents must be very much limited. Teaching in one of these zenanas, reaching only two or three, takes as much time as teaching

Female hospitals.

Girls' schools.

Zenana visiting.

Limitations of the work.

[1] See § 38.

in a large school, and is even more exhausting. Yet the value of the work cannot be overestimated, as it gets behind the great domestic props of Hinduism; and it is only to be regretted that the work has not been multiplied tenfold.

Having taken this general view of the progress of the mission and of the methods of work adopted, we now proceed to give a short account of the work at the different stations.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V

In 1889 the Madras Missionary Conference sent an open letter to the Churches in the West, in which the work being done was grouped as follows. It is practically the same as in the Rajputana Mission :—

I. Mission Work among the Children.
- Boys' schools.
- Girls' schools.
- Mixed schools for boys and girls.
- Sunday schools for boys and girls.

II. Mission Work among Young Men.
- Higher education in schools and colleges.
- Bible classes for young men.
- Special addresses (English) to young men.

III. Mission Work among the Masses.
- Evangelistic preaching in streets and halls.
- Evangelistic preaching in circles of villages.
- Evangelistic tours and visits to Hindu festivals.
- House-to-house visitation.

IV. Mission Work among Women.
- Zenana teaching.
- Special evangelistic meetings for women.
- The work of Bible-women.

V. Mission Work among the Sick.

Medical mission work by means of hospitals and dispensaries.
Medical mission work in zenanas.
Visitation of the sick in hospitals.

VI. Mission Work by Christian Literature.

The Bible Society.
The Religious Tract Society.
The Christian Literature Society.
Sale of Bibles and other books, by colporteurs and a depôts.
Distribution of tracts and handbills.
Reading-rooms.

VII. Work among Native Christians.

Preaching and pastoral oversight.
Sunday schools for Christian children.
Meetings for united prayer.
Young Men's Christian Association.
Institution for the training of mission agents.

CHAPTER VI

HISTORY OF THE DIFFERENT STATIONS—BRITISH DISTRICT: MERWARA; BEAWAR, TODGARH.

§ 52. MERWARA is the name given to a section of the Aravalli range to the south of Ajmer. It is about a hundred miles in length, and varying in breadth from twenty-five miles at the north to a mile or two on the south. The country is mountainous, difficult of access, and before its conquest by the British was covered with forests. The MERS are a mixed race—partly Mina and partly Rajput. They were nominally under the suzerainty of Ajmer, Udaipur, and Jodhpur; but they practically maintained their independence, and cherished in their rocky fastnesses an indomitable love of freedom, as well as a less laudable love of freebooting, plundering the neighbouring plains unless the inhabitants paid them blackmail. They believed in local deities and demons, whose priests are called Bhopas. The chief shrine is that of Piplāj, a little way to the north of Todgarh, where the Mers were wont to offer their children in sacrifice before the country was subdued by tho English, and thereafter to slaughter buffaloes with circumstances of revolting cruelty, till that too was stopped in 1865. Female infanticide was common among them. Caste was unknown. A small section of

Physical features of Merwara.

Character and religion of the Mers.

the tribe have nominally embraced Mohammedanism, and are called MERĀTS.

History of the mission. Colonel Hall.

§ 53. When Ajmer was ceded to the British in 1818, one of their first cares was to subdue these daring mountaineers. This was effected with comparatively little difficulty by a force under COLONEL HALL.[1] That officer set himself to civilise the tribe. One of his first steps was to form a battalion of Mer soldiers. It was stationed at a healthy spot, where the country opens out on to the Ajmer plain. The nearest village was Beawar, about four miles off, and from it the cantonment received its name. The Mers became loyal soldiers, and did efficient service in the Mutiny. The headquarters were transferred to Ajmer about the year 1866. Colonel Hall also persuaded the Mers to give up some of their barbarous customs, and to cultivate their valleys. To assist in this, he began the construction of talāös, or artificial lakes, storing up water for irrigation.

Colonel Dixon.

§ 54. COLONEL DIXON, who succeeded him in 1830, took up this work, and greatly developed it. He saw the necessity of attracting trade within the district if civilisation was to be permanent, and so laid out the town of NAYĀ NAGAR (New Town), in the vicinity of the cantonment of Beawar. The site was surrounded by a wall, and the main streets soon built. The wisdom of the choice of site has been amply justified. Beawar (as the place is generally called) has risen to have a population of 20,000, and has a larger cotton trade than any other place in

[1] When Colonel—then General—Hall heard in after years of the successful establishment of the mission, with uplifted eyes and clasped hands he said, "Now I can say with Simeon, 'Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace.'"

Rajputana. The efforts of Colonel Dixon in civilising the Mers were amply successful, but it must be noted that the civilisation he introduced was a HINDU CIVILISATION. Hinduism had thus the start of Christianity by a generation in dealing with the Mers. The Brahmans are still few in number, the total in Merwara being under two thousand; but the subtle spirit of caste has taken possession of the people. In this district we have two stations, Beawar and Todgarh.

Results of his work.

Beawar[1]

§ 55. As has been stated,[2] Mr. SHOOLBRED arrived in Beawar on March 5, 1860. He was fortunate in securing a bungalow, which became vacant at the time, with a large "compound" attached, in which most of the institutions connected with the mission were afterwards erected. Ten years later, another bungalow was built on the high ground between it and the city. Mr. Shoolbred's first work was to learn the language, and he engaged as pundit a Jati or Jain priest,[3] a man of considerable force of character, who incidentally helped in the development of the mission. On Sabbath he conducted English service for the few European officers, military and civil, in the station.

Settlement of Mr. Shoolbred at Beawar.

§ 56. The first direct step towards evangelisation was the OPENING OF A SCHOOL in the town of Nayā Nagar in August of that year. A building was secured at a moderate rent in one of the side streets, which was subsequently bought for the mission. It continued to be

Commencement of the various agencies.

[1] More exactly, Byāwar. [2] See § 23. [3] See p. 15.

used as a school till within the last five years, when, under the superintendence of Mr. Brown, the number of scholars has grown to exceed the capacity of the building. It has accordingly been sold, and in its place a handsome and commodious building has been built outside the walls, with an extensive playground and a separate gate to the city. It now ranks as a High school. The Government has withdrawn its school, and left the education of Nayā Nagar entirely in the hands of the missionaries. In the year 1860 the first

HIGH SCHOOL AT BEAWAR, CHURCH IN THE DISTANCE.

village school was opened, and it was soon followed by others. Besides the education given in the city school, an EVANGELISTIC SERVICE was held on Sabbath afternoons, attended by the pupils and many of the townspeople, at which many interesting discussions took place. In September 1861, Mr. Shoolbred felt himself far enough advanced in the language to begin BAZAR PREACHING, which has since been carried on uninterruptedly two or three times a week.

§ 57. In the cold season of the same year he made his

first ITINERANCY through the Magra, as the hill country of Merwara is called, and was greatly cheered and encouraged by the readiness with which the simple villagers listened to the gospel.

First itinerancy.

One incident connected with this itinerancy was like to be fatal to him. As he was riding towards his tent one morning, he heard a gun fired, and immediately after a bullet whizzed close by his ear. He galloped up to the place where he saw the smoke of the gun, and there found two suspicious-looking characters, whom, with the assistance of the pundit and groom, he succeeded in capturing and taking to the jail at Dewair. It turned out that their object had been merely plunder. As the native officer in charge refused to do anything without Mr. Shoolbred's order, and as the latter did not feel called on to do anything more, the men were released on giving security for good conduct. The clemency thus shown was itself a testimony to the natives of the nature of the gospel, and impressed them as such. Itinerancies have been kept up steadily since, and have at times been extended far into the native states.

Attempt on the life of Mr. Shoolbred.

§ 58. After Dr. Valentine joined the mission in 1862, the various departments of MEDICAL MISSION WORK came in as an efficient aid to evangelistic work. In addition to ordinary work, Dr. Valentine's medical knowledge enabled him to expose the pretensions of some of the *Bhopas*, priests or rather prophets of some of the local deities. They were mostly low-caste men; they worked themselves up by dancing, after the manner of the prophets of Baal, until they were in an ecstasy, when they claimed to be possessed by the goddess Devi, and to be able, by divining secrets or foretelling futurity,

Dr. Valentine's work.

Exorcising Devi.

to give evidence of their divine possession. At a midnight séance of one of these Bhopas, in presence of a large crowd, when the Bhopa challenged the missionaries who were present to disprove his claim, Dr. Valentine produced a bottle of ammonia and held it suddenly under the Bhopa's nose. The shock made the man fall on his back, and when he recovered he confessed that he was an impostor. Thereafter the sight of a scent-bottle was enough to exorcise Devi from any who pretended to be possessed of her.

§ 59. The formation of the CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY in Beawar may be said to have begun with the handing over of six orphans to the care of the missionaries in 1861, already referred to.[1] The FIRST CONVERT from heathenism was won at the close of 1862. A Brahman from Mathura, a pundit well versed in the Shastras, came to Nayā Nagar. In the bazar he heard the preaching of the gospel. At first he was inclined to dispute it a little, but by degrees became more favourable, and sought instruction from the missionary. Shortly after he expressed his conviction of the truth of Christianity, stood up along with the missionaries and native agents in the bazar, and declared his renunciation of his former faith. He was baptized in January 1863 by the name of Paul Bhisham, in the school, in presence of a large crowd of natives. This first conversion, being from the highest caste, produced a profound impression, and made the natives feel that there was a power in the new religion beyond what was in theirs.

First convert.

§ 60. Mention has been made of a Jati or Jain priest whom Mr. Shoolbred had engaged as pundit. With

[1] See § 31.

him he read some of the Gospels, and had many discussions on religious subjects. The Jati did not embrace Christianity, but in his temple he talked to the worshippers a good deal about the new religion. One of these was a woman who was the wife of a soldier in the Mer regiment, called Amrah. She was impressed by what she heard, and told it to him. He was at first strongly opposed to it, but, at his wife's suggestion, got a Hindi Testament, which he read, with the result that he became convinced of the divinity of Jesus Christ and of His being the sole Saviour. He then spoke to Mr. Shoolbred, who found him so well informed in Christian truth that he saw no reason to delay his baptism. Two of his brothers were shortly after converted. His wife was ill, and did not long survive her baptism. The writer saw her a few days before her death. Her disease did not allow her to lie down. She was propped up in bed, and, unable to speak, could only point up to heaven. Standing around, in striking contrast to her wasted figure, were the three stalwart figures of her husband and his two brothers, whom she had been the means of leading to Christ—an evidence in the early days of the mission of the power of women even in India.

Conversions among the Mers.

§ 61. Thus a Church was begun, and it continued to grow. The spiritual history of many of the converts is exceedingly interesting, but space does not allow of it being given here. Mention must, however, be made of the case of Rati Ram, a priest of the Rām Sneh sect. At the time of his conversion he was ill, and went to live at the mission bungalow. The members of his sect claimed possession of the temple as belonging to them, while he claimed that it belonged to him personally. A lawsuit

Growth of the Christian community.

took place, which the Commissioner decided in favour of the sect, and Rati Ram had therefore to give up his temple. The mistake was shown afterwards, when another priest of the same sect was converted. He was strong and able to hold his own. He continued to reside in his temple, and devoted it to Christian teaching without opposition. Besides these mention may be made of the fervent Lalla the weaver, who was the means of bringing over many of his caste; and Kāmar, the upright and successful contractor, the liberal supporter of the Church, who have both passed to the Church above. A church capable of holding 500 was erected in a commanding site within the walls, and was opened for public worship on 2nd March 1873. Amrah, who had left the army in 1856 for the mission service, and who had studied for the ministry, and been licensed in 1884, was in 1886 ordained native pastor of the Beawar church. The number of baptized adherents in 1892 was 325, of whom 134 were in full communion.

Erection of a church.

Mr. Shoolbred has been connected with this station throughout its whole history. He has been thrice home. On the second occasion, 1879, he received the degree of D.D. from the Edinburgh University; and on the third occasion, 1888–89, he was chosen Moderator of the Synod. He has been ably supported by other missionaries who have been there at various times, principally Dr. Sommerville, who, for ten years from 1872, carried on medical mission work, and Rev. J. Anderson Brown, who since 1884 has had charge of the educational work.

§ 62. Female education and visits to some of the Zenanas of the city have been carried on for several years in Beawar by native female Christians, super-

intended by Mr. Shoolbred. In four or five of the surrounding villages, girls' schools were also taught by similar agency. In 1890, Miss Gow was appointed Zenana missionary at Beawar, and set to work visiting the houses where she could get admittance. She soon had as many opened to her as she could overtake. The work has since been carried on by her and by Miss M'Intosh, with a good staff of native agents, doing visiting and teaching work in the bazar and neighbouring villages.

Female education and Zenana work.

REV. DR. SHOOLBRED.

Todgarh.

§ 63. Todgarh is about forty miles to the south of Beawar, in the very centre of the Magra or hill country of Merwara. It is situated at a height of about 2800 feet above the sea, at the summit of a hilly plateau, from which passes descend to the plains and valleys on all sides. Its importance as a key to these passes led, early

Situation and advantages of Todgarh.

after the subjugation of the country, to a small fort being erected—called Todgarh after Colonel Tod, then Resident at Udaipur—and a small garrison being stationed there to overawe the district. Under its protection a considerable village gathered. In late years the Mers have shown a disposition to leave their hill homes and settle in the lower valleys. But at the commencement of the mission Todgarh was the most important village in Merwara, and as it was the best centre for the civil and military administration of the district, it seemed the best centre for its evangelisation. The chief objection to it was its isolation. The roads were too rough even for the country carts. Ponies and camels were the only means of transit that could be relied on. This has now been remedied; there is a well-engineered road up to the village.

§ 64. By the advice of the missionaries on the field, the Mission Board resolved to establish a mission there, and the Rev. William Robb, after being a year at Nasirabad, went thither in October 1863, with his wife—a daughter of the Rev. Hope M. Waddell, the founder of the Calabar Mission — and pitched their tent under a banyan tree. They were accompanied by Paul Bhisham, the first convert of the Beawar Mission, who remained there till 1872. The first thing to do was to build a bungalow, which was erected on one of the hilltops near the village. This became the centre of the missionary operations. These were adapted to the nature of the district. Todgarh itself was too small to occupy much of the missionary's time. A Vernacular school was begun, but it was only one of several in the surrounding villages. These schools soon attained a high degree of efficiency, and became the centres of evangelistic work in the

Commencement of the work by Mr. and Mrs. Robb.

Missionary operations.

villages where they were situated. Preaching in the bazars of the villages within reaeh, and itineraneies whenever these were possible, formed a large part of the work. Dr. Shields joined the mission here in the beginning of 1864, and eontinued doing medieal mission work till the elose of 1867, when he had to leave on aeeount of ill health. But the natives had learned to come to the missionaries for help, and, with the assistance of a native dispenser, Mr. Robb eontinued to earry on this department of the work.

Dr. Shields' work.

§ 65. This hospital assistant was the FIRST-FRUIT OF THE MISSION. His name was Manāwar Khān—a Mohammedan. He was for some time a teaeher in a native school at Beawar, where he learned about Christianity. He went with Dr. Shields to Todgarh as hospital assistant, and shortly after professed Christianity. He soon became invaluable in the mission as a teaeher and preaeher. Another ease of remarkable eonversion was that of the Raoji of Sarun, a village in Merwara not far from Todgarh, the head of one of the chief elans of the Rāwats. One of the men of his village had gone on a pilgrimage to Dwarka, and had brought back with him a Hindi eopy of the Gospel of Matthew. Unable to read it himself, he gave it to the Raoji, who began to study it, and the truth soon took possession of his soul. It produeed at first great perplexity and exeitement. In a dream he saw Christ eoming to him, bidding him confess Him, and directing him to go to Ajmer, where he would be told what to do. He obeyed at once—walked to Ajmer, a distanee of ninety miles, in two days. The missionaries there reeeived him gladly, and advised him to go for further

First conversions. Manawar Khan.

Raoji.

instruction to Todgarh, which was not far off from his own village. He followed their direction, went regularly for instruction, and at last, notwithstanding the opposition of his clan, received baptism. He has since then been a consistent, devoted follower of Jesus Christ, irreproachable in life, constant in prayer, zealous in speaking the truth to all around. But though he has lived and worked there for twenty-five years, no further fruit has appeared in his own clan, but he has been a pariah in his own house. Let us trust and pray that his life and example will yet bear much fruit in the conversion of many of his countrymen. By several such cases the little Church continued to grow.

§ 66. The famine of 1868–69 fell with great severity on the district of Southern Merwara, and Mr. Robb, from his position, was able to do effective service in relief work. At the close of the famine about a hundred orphans were left in the poorhouse. These were handed over to Mr. Robb, and for some time formed a large feature in the mission work of the station. In 1871 a handsome church was erected on a hilltop in close contiguity to the village of Todgarh. Two years later the work seemed to increase so much as to justify the appointment of a second missionary, and Mr. and Mrs. A. P. C. Jameson took up their abode there. In 1876, Mr. Robb was obliged by the state of his health to come home. He had remained out for upwards of thirteen years without a break, and from his isolated position had had to endure a special strain. He was thus completely broken down, and it was five years before he recovered sufficiently to return to his field of labour—a lesson that it is bad economy to allow a missionary to remain too long in the field without

Orphanage and church.

Mr. and Mrs. Jameson settle at Todgarh.

furlough. Mr. Jameson continued the work, but, owing to the exigencies of the field elsewhere, he was removed to Beawar in 1879, and subsequently to Alwar. Mr. Robb returned in the beginning of 1882, but, after remaining there for a year, he came to the conclusion that the necessities of the other parts of the field were greater, and that Todgarh could be left in charge of a native agent. It was accordingly left in 1884 in charge of Manawar Khan, who was licensed by the presbytery that same year, and ordained to the full ministry in 1892. The duties of the station he has discharged with conspicuous ability; and he has done more to enrich the vernacular Christian literature of the country than any other agent of the mission.

Withdrawal of European agents.

§ 67. When the writer visited Todgarh in 1891, there was a Christian community there of a little over fifty, of whom more than half were church members. It seemed as if the work spent had been very much in vain. But, looking at the record of what had been done and of those who have gone from it, it soon appeared that Todgarh had done for the mission what many of our decreasing congregations at home do for the city charges, had sent its best members to be the strength of other stations. About seventy-five of these were mentioned who had been brought into the Christian Church at Todgarh, and were now honouring their profession at the other stations of the mission. Such, we suspect, must be the function of Todgarh for some time. There are no industries around at which the converts can get employment when they have been outcasted for their religion. But let us trust, too, that the time is not far distant when the testimony of the gospel will win all the villages around, and no one will suffer for professing Christianity.

Results of the mission to Todgarh.

CHAPTER VII

BRITISH DISTRICT *continued*—AJMER, NASIRABAD AND ASHAPURA, DEOLI.

Ajmer

§ 68. AJMER is beautifully situated, about thirty-five miles to the north of Beawar, at the foot of Tāragarh (Fort of the Stars), a fortified hill, which rises to the height of about 1200 feet above the city. The top of this hill is a plateau large enough to contain a mosque, a small village, and several bungalows, one of which is a mission sanatorium. To the north of the city is the Ana Sāgar, a large artificial lake, which supplies the city with water and maintains verdure in the valley below. There is a large and bigoted Mohammedan population in the city, and the chief mosque, raised over the tomb of Khwāja, a famed Mohammedan saint, is one of the most renowned in India. A number of wealthy bankers—chiefly Jains—have settled in the city, attracted by the security of the British rule. Ajmer is the headquarters of Government and of the Merwara Battalion. Besides the Mayo College, which was founded in 1876 for the education of Rajput nobles, it has a large Government college. The offices and workshops of the Rajputana railway are established there also. The population in 1891 was 68,843.

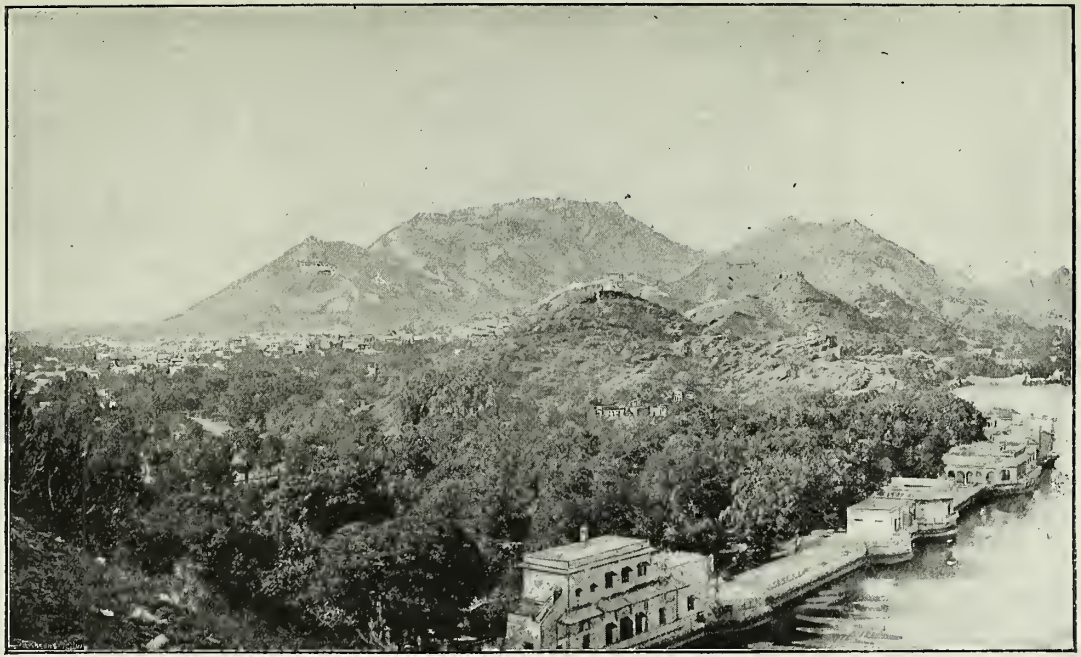
Situation, population, and institutions of Ajmer.

§ 69. Shortly after his arrival at Beawar in 1861, Mr. Robson paid Ajmer a visit. Going to the Post Office to make inquiries, he found that the post-master was a converted Rajput, who had been baptized at Benares. He was very glad to welcome a missionary, and asked him to baptize three of his children, who had been born since he came to Ajmer. Thus, in a city where he had expected to be the first to preach the gospel, the first service he was called to perform was to reap the fruit of other men's labours. In February of the following year (1862) he settled in Ajmer, accompanied by Mrs. Robson, and also by Mr. and Mrs. Glardon, who had just come from Europe. As already mentioned, Mr. Glardon was obliged to leave at the close of 1863. His place was taken by the Rev. James Gray, who has since then continued at work in Ajmer, and been closely identified with the progress of the work there. He was accompanied by Mrs. Gray, who was not spared longer than 1865. At first the missionaries were assisted by Abd-ul-Masih, a converted Mohammedan of earnest character, who died within the year. His place was taken by Robert Philips, a native Christian from Beawar, who continued at Ajmer till 1867.

Beginning of the mission in Ajmer.

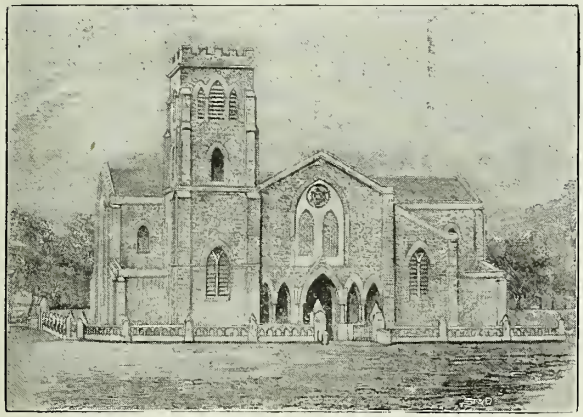
§ 70. The only suitable dwelling-place to be had at first was the old Residency bungalow—now the site of the Mayo College—about a mile and a half from the city. It was not till 1865 that bungalows were built in the present more suitable position. As a centre of mission work, a commodious native house near the chief bazar was secured. The work was carried on there and in the surrounding villages on the same evangelistic and educational lines as at Beawar. In Ajmer the first

Educational and other work.



AJMER.

attempt at female education was made, a girls' school being opened in the bazar by Lucy Philips, under the superintendence of Mrs. Robson, who also got admission to one or two zenanas. The work was taken up by Mrs. Drynan when she went to Ajmer in 1869, and has been carried on and developed since under her and the other Zenana ladies. In 1869 new mission premises



MISSION PREMISES AT AJMER.

were opened, consisting of a large hall, capable of holding 300, and several classrooms. The Anglo-Vernacular school was transferred to it, and the native church has met in the large hall since.

New mission premises.

§ 71. The NATIVE CHURCH began with the family of the postmaster. The first convert was won in 1864. He was a Jati or Jain priest, and was the first of that class in India to profess Christianity. He had already found the atheism of Jainism inadequate, and had sought satisfaction in

First convert.

some of the secret sects of Hinduism. No more satisfied with these, he came to Ajmer, where he came into contact with some Christian books, and from them was led to seek instruction from the missionaries. He soon became convinced of the moral supremacy of Christianity to both Hinduism and Jainism. He did not give up belief in the existence of the deities whom he had worshipped in the orgies of the secret sects, but, having tested their power by methods of his own, in presence of the Bible, he became convinced of their powerlessness, and gave himself up to be a follower of Jesus. He was baptized by the name of Isa Das (servant of Jesus). By taking this step he cut himself off from his means of support, and from the high position and the worship paid to him by his former disciples. His conduct for a time was often unsteady, but the truth asserted its power, and he became a consistent and devoted Christian agent. He died in Udaipur in 1891, mourned by the whole Christian community there. Other baptisms followed, some of which give interesting illustrations of the working of divine grace, but space does not allow of them being recorded here. One that occasioned more stir in the city than any other was that of Mohammed Shāh, a young Mohammedan of good family, whose conversion to Christianity was keenly felt by his former co-religionists. When he went home after his baptism, his mother shut the door in his face and drove him away with curses.

Progress of the Church.

§ 72. The famine of 1868–70 told heavily on the agents at Ajmer. It was the place to which most of the refugees from the native states came, and the missionaries were very much taxed to provide help for all who came to them.

Famine of 1868–70.

Some ground was secured in the neighbourhood of Ajmer, and relief works were begun on it. Mr. Gray had gone to Beawar to relieve Mr. Shoolbred, who had gone away on furlough, and Mr. and Mrs. Robson and Mr. M'Quistan, who had joined the mission in 1865, were attacked with cholera. Though they were spared by the mercy of God, they were not thereafter able for full work. Mr. M'Quistan had to leave for home immediately; and Mr. and Mrs. Robson, after trying to carry on the work for some time longer, were obliged to leave permanently. This interruption prevented the relief works being completed as had been intended. But one or two small talāōs were finished on the ground that had been purchased, and a few Christian families are now settled on it, in a village called Bālakpura (Children's Village), to commemorate the fact that the ground was secured and the talāōs constructed with money collected by the children of the Church.

Relief works and cholera.

Village of Bālakpura.

§ 73. In 1871, Dr. and Mrs. Husband came to Ajmer, and have since then, with occasional interruptions, continued there. Dr. Husband opened a dispensary in one of the most crowded parts of the city. It has secured the confidence of the natives, and has been a means of abundant evangelistic work. Its efficiency has been greatly hindered by the inadequacy of the premises—a defect which is now being remedied. In 1884 a printing press was established, to which reference has already been made. The railway workshops at Ajmer have attracted a considerable European and Eurasian population. For their benefit an English service is held regularly on

Opening of the hospital.

English service.

Sabbath afternoons in the Railway Institute. The importance of this work both for those immediately benefited and for its indirect influence on the mission can hardly be overestimated.

§ 74. One side work done by the missionaries may be noticed. Government has been trying to introduce municipal self-government into India. About 1868 a municipal constitution was given to Ajmer. The natives were new to the work, and they looked for help to the missionaries. Mr. Gray took part in the municipal committee from 1871 till he came home on furlough in 1875. After him Dr. Husband was elected a member, and was subsequently chosen chairman—practically the same as mayor or provost. For some years, till his last visit home, while carrying on full mission work, he continued to guide the affairs of the municipality, to the great benefit of the city and the satisfaction of all parties. When he resigned he received a hearty testimonial to the value of his labours.

Municipal work.

§ 75. The beginning of the educational work among girls has been already referred to. In this work Mrs. Drynan has been engaged since coming to Ajmer in 1868. In 1874 she was joined by Miss Guillaumet. In 1881, consequent on the starting of the Zenana Missionary Society, Miss Miller and Miss Young went to Ajmer. The former gave attention mainly to teaching and Zenana visiting. Miss Young, who had had training as a nurse, opened a female dispensary, under the supervision of Dr. Husband. This proved so successful that the need for a female hospital soon became apparent. Funds were subscribed for the erection of one; and Dr. J. Helen Grant, a fully qualified medical lady, went out to take

Zenana Mission. Educational and hospital work.

charge of it. In the first year she attended to no less than 7000 cases. She left for Kotah in 1890, on her marriage to Mr. Bonnar. Miss Young still carries on hospital and Zenana work, and last year had much to do in famine relief. In the educational work Mrs. Drynan is assisted by Miss Hutton.

§ 76. Mention has been made of the beginning of the native Church in Ajmer. Two causes have contributed to its growth besides conversions — the orphans who were left in 1869, and the railway workshops. The latter give employment to many artisans. Some of the Ajmer converts through them have found a means of living when cast off by their relations, and some have been attracted from other parts of India. As their hours are long, and they live in various parts of the city, there is difficulty in looking after them and keeping up their standard of life. But there is a larger proportion of the Ajmer congregation than of any other entirely independent of the mission. The total number of adherents in 1892 was 201, of whom 113 were members.

Growth of the Church.

§ 77. Two outposts of the Ajmer Mission may be mentioned. Pushkar or Pohkar, a Brahmanical city of about 3000 inhabitants, about six miles from Ajmer, on the shores of a sacred lake, is visited by immense crowds at the annual festival at the beginning of November. At this festival agents of the mission are generally present in large force, seeking to scatter seeds of truth that may be carried by the returning pilgrims to their homes. A school has also been established there for some time for the benefit of permanent residents, but the prejudices of the people have been too strong for it to succeed.

Out-stations. Pushkar.

Kishangarh is about sixteen miles to the east of Ajmer, and is connected with it by railway. It is a town of about 15,000 inhabitants, and is the capital of a small state of the same name. A mission dispensary has been opened there for some time, in charge of a native Christian; a catechist is

Kishangarh.

PUSHKAR.

also permanently stationed there, both superintended by the missionaries in Ajmer.

§ 78. There are two other missions now established in Ajmer—one connected with the Church of England, and the other with the American Methodist Episcopal Church. The former had in 1890 134 adherents, of whom 43 were communicants. The Methodists claim to have baptized hundreds of converts in Ajmer and the neighbourhood. The number in full communion in 1890 was 25.

Other missions.

Nasirabad and Ashapura

§ 79. When the Ajmer district was ceded to Great Britain in 1817, a brigade of the Indian army was stationed in the Ajmer valley. This not proving healthy, the force was moved out to the open plain beyond the hills to the east, and a cantonment formed. The commander-in-chief at that time in Rajputana was Sir David Ochterlony, to whom the Emperor of Delhi had given the title Nasīr-ud-daulah (Pillar of the Empire). In compliment to him the new camp was called Nasīrābād. Since then it has continued the chief military station in Rajputana. There is always an English regiment there, as well as two or three native regiments. The cantonments are well laid out. A native town soon gathered in their vicinity, which has now a population of 21,000.

Origin of Nasirabad.

§ 80. In July 1860 cholera broke out among the Europeans at Nasirabad, and as there was no chaplain there, Mr. William Martin, accompanied by Mrs. Martin, went for a time to minister to the sick and dying. While there he was impressed with its suitableness as a centre for mission work. He was invited by the natives to open a school, and so, as related above,[1] Nasirabad was opened as the second station of the mission in August 1861. Mr. and Mrs. Gavin Martin joined the mission in 1864. The two brothers continued to work together till the death of Mr. Gavin Martin in 1874. A large compound was secured, conveniently situated for the bazar, large enough to contain two bungalows, and with ample space also for the erection subsequently of girls' and boys' boarding-schools and houses for

Circumstances leading to the founding of the mission.

Establishment and progress of the mission.

[1] See § 27.

native agents. The missionaries were at first assisted by Khān Singh, a Sikh of great natural eloquence, but who left the mission after a few years. An Anglo-Vernacular school was opened, and soon got a commanding position in the place. A building was erected for it in a side street, which continued for many years to serve as a school on the week days and for the native service on the Sabbaths. Bazar preaching and educational and evangelistic work in the large villages around were vigorously carried on. The missionaries also conducted an English service for the Presbyterian soldiers in the place.

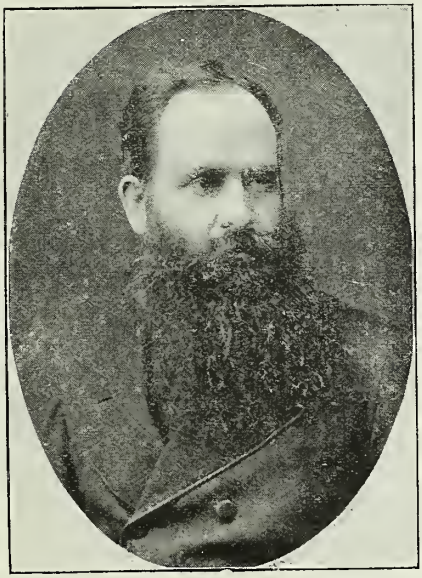
§ 81. The first convert in the mission was Lachman, a camp follower, not a man of brilliant parts, but of steady character, who maintained a thoroughly consistent profession, and gave no trouble to the missionaries. The next convert was quite a contrast. His name was Hassain Ali; he was a Mohammedan, of considerable genius and force of character. His conversion and baptism produced a great sensation in the native community. Unfortunately, some early vices still clung to him, and he had to be suspended from church membership and dismissed from mission service. In the midst of all he never swerved from his allegiance to Christ; he was finally restored, and did good service with his pen even more than with his word. Some of the most poetic and literary of the hymns sung by the native Christians throughout the north-west are "ghazals" (a species of Urdu poem) composed by him.

First converts.

§ 82. The good work done by the brothers Martin during the first years of the mission bore fruit during the famine of 1868–70, when the chief development of the work at Nasirabad took place. In the cantonment, and in the villages around, the ascendency which Mr.

William Martin especially had obtained over the natives became apparent. When cholera broke out in the villages, and intercourse between them and the camp was forbidden, he elected to remain outside, and made his head-quarters during the hot season of 1869 a small hut under a banyan tree in the village of Tantūtī. There he superintended famine relief, and the help given to the cholera-smitten villages around. He soon inspired such confidence, that natives came from distances of fifty and a hundred miles, passing by Government doctors and Government dispensaries, to be treated by him, not only for cholera, but also for other diseases, and even for surgical cases.

Work among the famine and cholera stricken.



REV. WILLIAM MARTIN.

§ 83. The missionaries secured a considerable piece of ground near Nasirabad, on which they had a talāō formed as a famine relief work. Here they planted a colony of Christian farmers from among the orphans

who had been left on their hands. The village thus formed was called Ashapura (Hope Town). It was in 1874 formed into a station connected with Nasirabad. A bungalow was erected for the residence of the missionary, the large central room of which was used also as the church.

Foundation of Ashapura.

REV. GAVIN MARTIN.

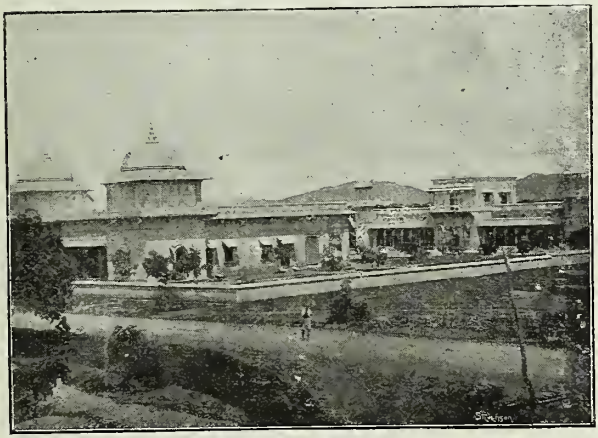
Mr. William Martin superintended the village and the work in the village schools, while his brother, Mr. Gavin Martin, carried on the work in Nasirabad itself. Dr. Wm. Clark had the previous year been settled in Nasirabad as medical missionary, and this made the above arrangement easier.

§ 84. In 1874 Mr. Gavin Martin was called to his rest, leaving a record of quiet, effective work that will long be remembered. Mr. William Martin was spared nine years longer, training up the orphans into useful members of society as farmers or tradesmen, and working in the villages around. He lost his wife

—the second Mrs. Martin—in 1879, and he himself succumbed to fever in 1883. He was greatly respected in Nasirabad, and a military funeral was prepared for him, but the orphans among whom he had lived insisted on carrying him to his last resting-place.

Death of Mr. Gavin Martin, Mrs. Wm. Martin, and Mr. Wm. Martin.

The village of Ashapura continues a



HIGH SCHOOL, NASIRABAD.

memorial of his work. It has now a population of about 120, of whom 40 are communicants, and among these are some notable cases of persons who have been won from surrounding heathenism. The village was for some time under the charge of Mr. M'Quistan, and there Mrs. M'Quistan died in 1891. It is now being worked as an out-station of Nasirabad.

Progress of work at Ashapura.

§ 85. In Nasirabad itself there is a dispensary, and a medical mission which has been conducted by Dr.

Clark since 1873. The school, under the changes which took place after Mr. Gavin Martin's death, lost its efficiency, and the municipality, feeling the want of a good school, set apart funds for establishing one, and erected a commodious and handsome building outside the native town, in close proximity to the mission bungalow. Just at that time Mr. Robb undertook the superintendence of the mission school, and it soon became so efficient as to leave scarcely any room for a municipal school. Seeing this, the municipality handed over the use of the new building to the mission, the only condition being that a European missionary should have charge of the school, and be present for an hour daily. It is now a high school.

Progress of the work at Nasirabad.

§ 86. As in Ajmer, some work was done among the women of Nasirabad by the wives of the missionaries from the beginning of the mission. In 1881, Miss Anderson and Miss Flett were appointed Zenana missionaries. The latter, after some years' earnest work, was obliged to resign on account of ill health. Miss Anderson set herself to educational work, and began the boarding-school which has already been referred to.[1] Miss Flett's place was taken for some years by Miss Oubridge, and subsequently by the Misses Paterson, who, with the efficient co-operation of Mrs. Robb and the aid of several native agents, are carrying on a girls' school in the bazar and visiting in the Zenanas.

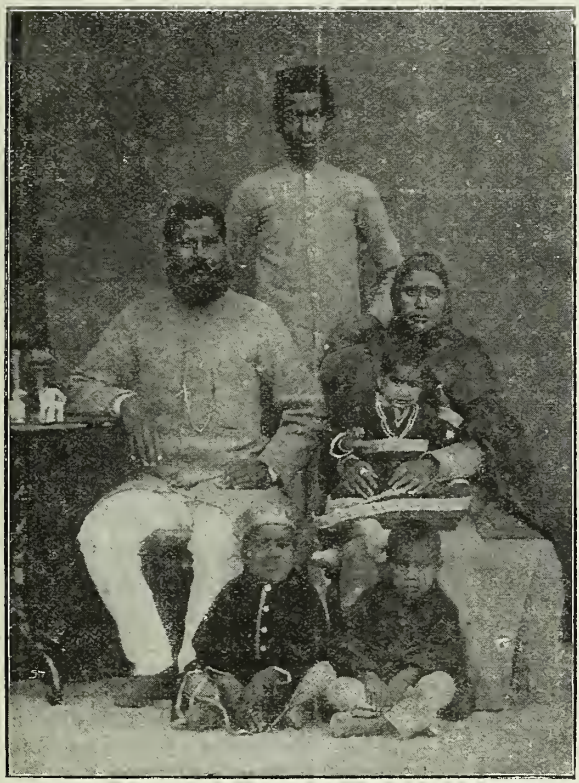
Female education and Zenana work.

§ 87. A handsome church — the Martin Memorial Church — was erected in 1886, near the school, and near it is the quarter of the native Christians. The houses are well

Present position of the work.

[1] See § 51.

built and clean, and the Christians living near one another form a separate community, and by their lives are



DEVI RAM, NATIVE PASTOR AT NASIRABAD, AND FAMILY.

a witness to the heathen of the power of Christianity. They are ministered to by Devi Ram, one of the orphans, a man of very high character, who was

ordained pastor in 1886, and is mainly supported by his congregation.

Present results.

When the writer visited Nasirabad in 1891, the boys' and girls' boarding-schools, the high school, the church, and the Christian quarter, seemed to him to present a picture of missionary activity grouped in the way most likely to impress the town and district. The result in the number of communicants (forty-three) seemed disappointingly small. But Nasirabad has not been able to retain all its converts. Some of the best have been attracted by the offer of high pay to other mission fields, and others, unable to find means of support in Nasirabad or Ashapura, have been obliged to go elsewhere.[1]

Deoli

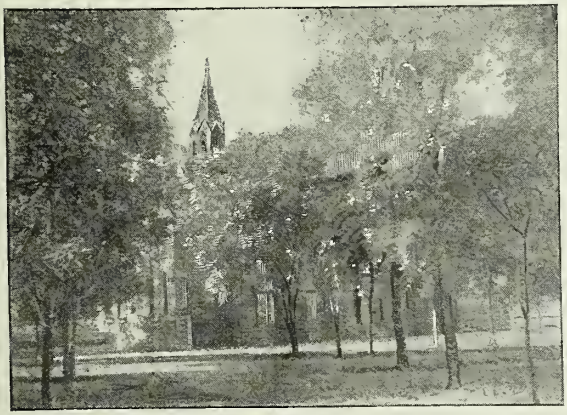
Position of Deoli.

§ 88. To the south-east of the British district of Ajmer there is a small corner cut off from the rest by the Banās, a river which in the rains is a great flood, and in ordinary seasons has water flowing all the year through. On each side of the little district beyond the river are the states of Jaipur and Udaipur, the portion of the latter in the immediate vicinity being the semi-independent chieftainship of Shahpura. Immediately to the north-east is the state of Būndi, and beyond it that of Kotah. These states, from being ruled by the Hārās, a branch of the Chohān Rajputs, are called the Hārāoti states. Thirty-six miles to the north is Tonk, the capital of the Mohammedan kingdom of that name. To the south of the district is the Kharār, a hilly country,

[1] For a full account of the work at Nasirabad, see *Martin Memorials*.

inhabited by a tribe called the Parihār-Mīnas. They are in some respects like the Mers, but are more thoroughly Hinduised. With a view to civilise this tribe and suppress brigandage in the district, a regiment was raised, and a cantonment established at Deoli. It was found likewise the most suitable place for the residence of the Political Agent who had charge of the Hārāoti states. Kotah is

Origin of the cantonment.



DEOLI CHURCH.

now under a separate Agent, and Tonk and Shahpura are superintended from Deoli. The total population is a little over 5000.

§ 89. The same considerations which made it a good military and political centre seemed to point to it also as a good missionary centre. In 1871, the missionaries feeling themselves able to extend, and the way not seeming yet open for settling in a native capital, it was resolved to open

Commencement of the mission.

work in Deoli as being practically in the centre of native states. Accordingly, in March of that year, the Rev. William Bonnar settled there. He secured a bungalow that had become vacant, and set about educational and evangelistic work. He was assisted from the first by Paul Bhisham, the first of the Beawar converts. As other Christian agents were secured, Bhisham was transferred to Kekrī, a town of 7000 inhabitants in the Ajmer district, about twenty miles from Deoli, where he carries on evangelistic work.

Entrance to native states.

§ 90. In 1873, Mr. Bonnar was joined by Dr. James Shepherd, and they continued working the station together till 1877, when the way was opened for Dr. Shepherd to go to Udaipur. The same year a church was opened in Deoli for the use of the English residents and the native Christians who were beginning to gather. Mr. Bonnar continued to work at Deoli till 1887—the main feature of his work, besides the educational and evangelistic work in the station and neighbouring villages, being itinerancies in the native states. By these he opened up the way for settling in Kotah, whither he proceeded in 1889, after being eighteen months at Beawar. His place was taken by Mr. W. F. Martin, nephew of the Nasirabad Martins, who with Mrs. Martin settled there in 1888, and who set himself to systematic itinerancy in the Mīna district; but before much fruit could be reaped from this he was called by the exigencies of the mission to Beawar. Deoli is now worked as an out-station of Kotah. There is a boys' and also a girls' school at it. There have been several baptisms at Deoli; but here, as elsewhere, there has been a difficulty in retaining native Christians, who have been

Deoli an out-station.

Results of the work there.

cut off from their usual means of support, and who cannot find employment in connection with the mission. There is at present there a Christian community of 43, of whom 15 are church members.

NEK-CHĀL TĀLĀŌ, DEOLI.

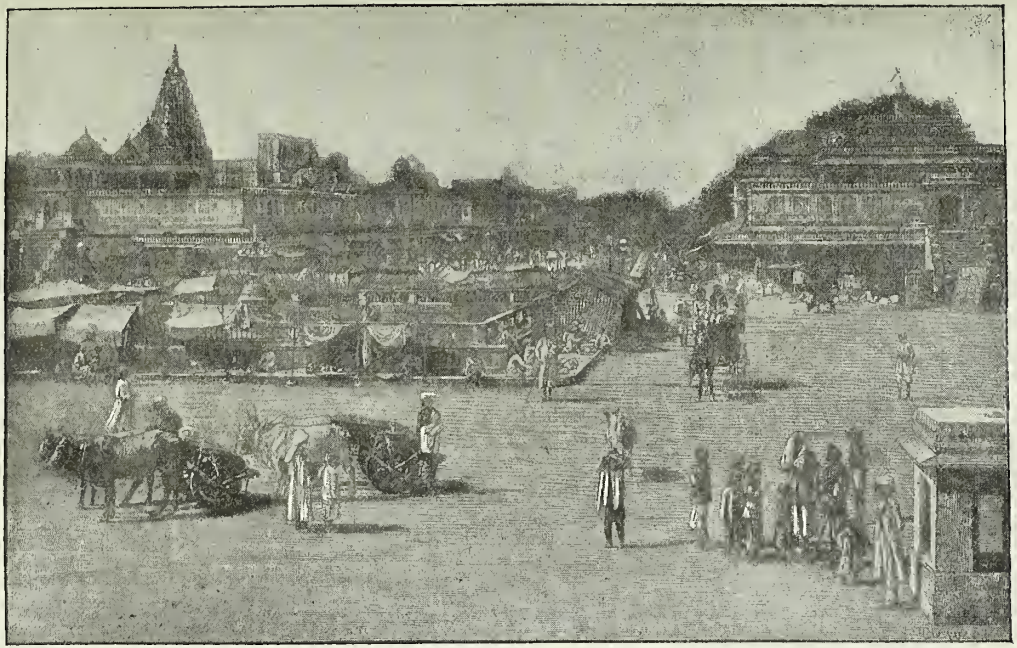
CHAPTER VIII

MISSIONS IN NATIVE STATES—JAIPUR, UDAIPUR

Jaipur

History of the Jaipur state.

91. The state of Jaipur stretches from Ajmer and Kishangarh eastward to Bhartpur. The old name of the country was Dhundār, and the old capital was Amber, strongly situated on the hills to the north of the present city, but now uninhabited. It is ruled by the Kachwāhas, a branch of the Solar race. It had not a prominent place in Hindu history till the beginning of last century, when the throne was occupied by Jai Singh, one of the most remarkable native princes that India has produced. He was a man of shrewd policy and of considerable culture. He wrote on many subjects, especially astronomy; and the observatories which he constructed in Delhi, Benares, and Jaipur testify to the care and expense with which he pursued the study. He saw that the old style of mountain fortress-capital was not suited for the development of a kingdom, so he founded the present capital in the plain, and called it after his own name. The history of Jaipur is not marked by any heroic struggle, but rather by the triumphs of policy and peace, and its rulers and inhabitants are more noted for craft than those of the other Rajput states. It is now the wealthiest and most advanced of the



SQUARE IN JAIPUR.

larger Rajput states. It has a population of 2,832,276, of whom 2,583,386 are Hindus. Of these 360,000 are Brahmans, and if we add the Dadu Panths (11,000) and devotees (57,000), we have more than one-sixth of the whole belonging to what may be called the religious orders. The total income of the state is £1,200,000, but of this £700,000 are alienated mainly on religious grants. The capital Jaipur is a fine city, built with all the exactness of a mathematician.[1] It has a fine college, girls' school, school of arts, hospital and museum, and well-laid-out gardens. It has a population of 160,000, of whom about 39,000 are Mohammedans and 10,000 Jains. There are seven banking firms in the city, with a capital of £6,000,000, and doing an annual business of £2,250,000.

Population and resources of the state.

The capital.

§ 92. The opening for a mission to this state came providentially in 1866. In the hot season of that year, Dr. Valentine, passing through Jaipur on his way to the hills for the benefit of his health, stayed for a day or two at the Residency with Major and Mrs. Beynon. While there he was introduced to the Maharajah Rām Singh, known as one of the most enlightened and reforming of the princes of India, and was asked by him to take part in a consultation in the case of one of his queens, who was at the time suffering from bad health. He so pleased the Maharajah that he asked him to remain

Opening for Dr. Valentine to settle there.

[1] The city is an oblong parallelogram. A street 2 miles long and 110 feet wide runs through the length of it; two streets of a similar width cross this street, dividing the city into six parts of nearly equal size. One of these parts is occupied by the palace, the others are subdivided by streets 55 feet wide, and these again are crossed by lanes 27½ feet wide.

in Jaipur and enter his service. Dr. Valentine was unwilling to leave Beawar, but he felt that God was in His providence calling him to enter by the opening thus made. He therefore accepted the offer, and remained as private physician of the Maharajah and as Minister of Education.

§ 93. In his new position he had opportunities of doing much good in the state, of which he availed himself, but he also carried on a successful mission work. He was joined by Hassain Ali from Nasirabad, and for a time had the help of another agent from Agra; and bazar preaching was begun and regularly carried on. Shortly after it began, a high-caste Brahman was attracted by it, was led to make further inquiry, and, after some conversations with the catechist and Dr. Valentine, declared his faith in Jesus Christ. He went to Beawar, and was there baptized by the name of Isa Das. Three more were baptized by Mr. Robson when passing through Jaipur in the beginning of 1868. In 1871 a piece of ground conveniently situated and suitable for a bungalow was gifted by the Maharajah to Dr. Valentine. This he at once made over to the United Presbyterian Mission Board for a mission bungalow; and a footing being thus secured, the Rev. John Traill, accompanied by Mrs. Traill, settled there as a full agent of the Board in 1872. When he had to go home in 1876, the Rev. George Macalister went there from Beawar, and carried on the work.

Dr. Valentine's mission work and its first-fruits.

Site for bungalow secured.

Mission established.

§ 94. The position of Dr. Valentine was felt, however, by the other missionaries to be equivocal. When he entered the service of the Maharajah he wrote to the Mission Board informing it of what he had done,

and leaving it to determine his relation to the Church. It decided to continue to recognise him as one of its agents, and to give him on loan to the Maharajah of Jaipur for a year. At the close of the year, however, the question of his relationship to the Board did not come up, nor was it again discussed, so he continued still to occupy the double position of a servant of the Mission Board and a servant of the Jaipur state. When it was resolved to have another agent settled there, there was still no reconsideration of Dr. Valentine's relation to the Board, and thus the mission drifted into a position which occasioned a good deal of difficulty. The other missionaries felt that Dr. Valentine's position compromised theirs, and that as a servant of the Maharajah he could help the mission more effectively if he were formally separated from it. This led to a controversy the details of which need not be dwelt on. The matter was at last brought before the Synod. In 1878 it decided that the general rule must be maintained, that agents should derive their emoluments solely from the funds of the society appointing them, and should pay over to that society any fees which they might receive—that whatever exceptions might have been made in Dr. Valentine's case had been made on grounds reflecting the highest honour on him, but that the anomalous position in which he was must be brought to an end. At the same time, it intimated to Dr. Valentine that in its opinion he might best serve the cause of missions by continuing in his position under the Maharajah. Dr. Valentine followed the advice of the Synod, and ceased to be

The Jaipur case: difficulties of Dr. Valentine's position.

Objection of other missionaries.

Decision of the Synod.

Dr. Valentine's connection with the mission severed.

formally recognised as an agent of the Church. He still continued at Jaipur, diminishing nothing of his evangelistic work, till 1880, when with the death of the Maharajah his appointment ceased. He thereafter went to Agra to superintend a Medical Mission Training Institute, which he had been instrumental in founding during the first year of his residence in Jaipur. This Institute is meant for the training of native Christians as medical missionaries to their countrymen. They attend the medical classes at the Agra School of Medicine, reside in the compound of the Institute, and are supervised and receive some extra training at it. Dr. Valentine still continues at this work, doing thus effective service to the cause of missions.

Agra Mission Training Institute.

§ 95. The effects of this controversy have retarded a good deal the progress of the gospel in Jaipur. But our two agents have continued doing effective work, Mr. Macalister more specially in the department of education—the Anglo-Vernacular School having been brought to a high state of efficiency, and the gospel in it being very carefully taught—and Mr. Traill in visitation in certain districts of the city, and coming into close personal contact with various orders and castes, besides bazar preaching and itinerancies conducted by both. There have been several conversions of persons of high caste and of prominent religious orders, and recently there has been in some of the villages indication of a general movement towards Christianity. Last year 31 adults were baptized in connection with this mission. There is now a Christian community of 164, and a communion roll of 55. Though this is the oldest of the missions to the native

Progress of the work in Jaipur.

states, it seems still to be exposed to more hostility than any of the others. There are two good bungalows and one Zenana bungalow erected on ground given by the state, but they are at an inconvenient distance from the city. Though money has for some years been subscribed for building a church, the native Government have steadily refused a site.

Opposition to the work.

§ 96. Zenana work was begun in 1883 by Mrs. Macalister, formerly Miss Procter, a Zenana agent, who, after her marriage to Mr. Macalister, began doing work in Jaipur, getting admission to many zenanas, and preparing the way for others to follow. In the following year Miss Guillaumet and Miss Katherine Miller settled in Jaipur. The former continued to work there till her health obliged her to resign in 1892. Miss Miller has, with an interval of supplying vacancies at other stations, continued since. The work was for some time shared by Miss Spalding Anderson and Miss E. A. Gray, who have had to leave. Miss Croll andMiss Steven are now settled there. These, with six native agents, visit and teach in the zenanas in the city, but the field is so large that not more than three visits in the fortnight to each zenana can be overtaken. There is also a girls' school taught at the bungalow, composed of girls from the neighbouring village.

Work in the zenanas.

§ 97. There are one or two out-stations connected with this mission, the most important of which is Sāmbhar. This is a town situated by a large salt lake on the confines of Jaipur and Marwar, both of which states derive from it considerable revenues. It is within a few hours' reach of Jaipur by rail. For some years a mission school has been established there, and two native Christian agents have been labour-

Out-stations: Sambhar.

ing there. Several of last year's baptisms were in this place and the vicinity.

Udaipur

§ 98. Udaipur is the capital of Mewar, the oldest and most honourable of the Hindu states. It stretches from the river Banas southward to the confines of Malwa, and from the Hāraoti states to Guzerat westward. It has a total area of 12,753 square miles; the eastern part is mostly a fertile plain; the Aravalli hills occupy the northern and western part. Its population is 1,727,899.[1] It is ruled by the Sisodias, a branch of the Solar race, who have sat on the throne for upwards of twelve hundred years. The sovereign, from an early incident in their history, is called Rānā or Mahārānā, instead of Rājā or Mahārajā, as the other Hindu princes are called. Their former capital was Chitor, a strongly-fortified hill, or rather tableland, to the east of Mewar. This was three times taken by the Mohammedans, and on each occasion the terrible rite of the Johar was performed. When further defence seemed hopeless, the Rajputs, having seen that a scion of the royal house was conveyed away to a place of safety, clothed themselves in saffron robes, rushed out on the foe, neither giving nor receiving quarter till they were all cut to pieces. Meanwhile a huge pyre had been erected in the city; the Rajput women mounted on it with all their jewellery, set fire to it, and "rejoined their lords through the flames." They did this in the belief that, if they did so, Mewar would never become subject to the foreign foe.

The kingdom of Mewar.

Its history.

[1] Viz. Hindus, 1,327,188; Jains, 93,734; Mohammedans, 59,743; Hill tribes, 247,096; the rest being mainly Christians.

§ 99. The last of these sākās, as they are called, was in the time of Akbar. The infant of the royal race, who was then preserved, was Udai Singh. He was removed to the care of the Bhils of the Aravalli hills, and when he grew up was proclaimed Rana of Mewar. Ever since then, each new ruler when enthroned, has the tilak, or frontal mark of sovereignty, affixed by a Bhil chief. Udai Singh built the new capital in the midst of the Aravalli hills, and called it by his name, Udaipur. This capital has never been in the possession of a hostile force. The Ranas were obliged to acknowledge for a time the suzerainty of the Delhi emperors, but they did so on honourable terms, not being required to send a daughter to the zenana of the emperor. The other Rajput houses did so, and in consequence their alliances were rejected by the Mewar house. When the Rajputs threw off the Moslem yoke, they naturally wished again to be received into alliance by the Rana, but he refused to grant this unless he were recognised as head of the Rajputs. Since then he has been looked up to as the most honourable of the Hindus.

Foundation of Udaipur.

Predominance of the house of Mewar.

§ 100. It will be observed from this sketch of the history of Udaipur that it is a Hindu state, which has remained under its old constitution from before Mohammedan times. Its heroic defence of the old Hindu faith against foreign invaders is the great glory of its history, and gives additional strength to that faith in the minds of its people now. In it we see the old Hindu civilisation, especially in the matter of buildings, better preserved than in any of the other states. The Ranas were great in the arts of peace as well as of war. Their most noted works are the great

Results of Mewar history.

talāōs — tanks, or artificial lakes — by which they retained all the water they could in their comparatively arid land, and secured fertility amid its comparative waste. The largest of these lakes is the Dhebar, or Jaisamand, to the south of Udaipur. It is nine miles at its greatest length, and five miles at its greatest breadth. It covers in all twenty-one square miles, being about three times the size of Loch Katrine.

Lakes of Mewar.

Udaipur, the capital, is situated by the side of one of these lakes. The palace is situated on a hill on the south side, rising abruptly from the waters, and the city slopes down from it, somewhat irregularly built. Two island palaces in the lake, and the distant perspective of mountains beyond, make the scene one of the most beautiful in India. It had a population in 1891 of 40,693, of whom 28,000 were Hindus, and 9000 Mohammedans, and 6000 Jains.

Udaipur, the capital.

§ 101. The action of the Conference and the opening of the station at Udaipur have already been noticed.[1] There threatened to be at one time a collision with the Church of England Missionary Society, which was at this time instituting a mission to the Bhils of Mewar, with Udaipur as a centre. After some negotiation, it was arranged that its missionaries should work from Kherwara, about fifty miles to the south, and the United Presbyterian missionaries should work from Udaipur.

Threatened difficulty in opening the mission.

Dr. Shepherd arrived in Udaipur on 17th November 1877, accompanied by Isa Das of Ajmer as catechist, and Lala as colporteur. He was going to a place about twelve marches distant from the nearest of our stations, where he had the

Settlement of Dr. Shepherd.

[1] See § 34.

prospect of great isolation; but God opened up the way before him, and gave him to feel that He was with him. From the few Europeans there he received much sympathy and help. There were also many of the natives favourable to his settling among them, and the prejudices of the others were soon overcome. Among those most favourable was Rao Bhakt Singh, C.I.E., of Bedla; by whose help he secured a native house in the city, in which he began work on the 3rd December. He was obliged at first to live in tents. When the hot weather came on, the Rana gave him the use of an open corridor, where he spent the hot season and rains with tolerable comfort. On the other hand, the favourite courtier of the Rana was very bitterly opposed to him. But, his daughter falling ill, he was fain to call in Dr. Shepherd, who treated her successfully, and won the father's heart. He said to him shortly after, "I was opposed to the coming of your mission, and so were many others, but now, if you were wishing to go, we would not let you leave." By the help of his friends, and with the sanction of the Rana, Dr. Shepherd secured a piece of ground well suited for a bungalow, and began its erection. These were the most notable incidents of the first year of the mission.

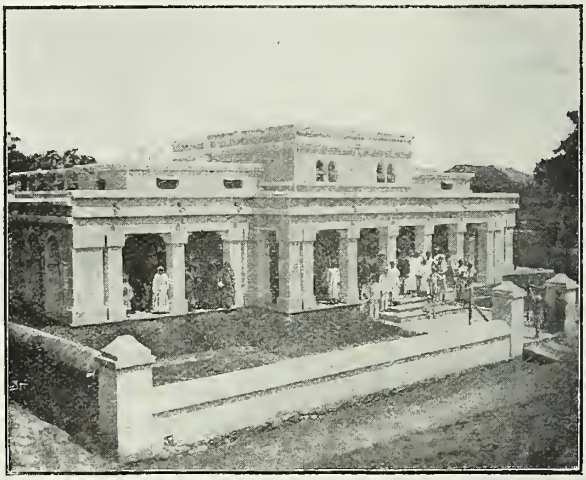
Difficulties overcome.

§ 102. Meanwhile the ordinary mission agencies were being conducted by Dr. Shepherd and his native assistants—schools, colportage, and preaching in the bazars and in the hospital. The first baptism was in 1879, when a Mohammedan, Khuda Bakhsh, received the ordinance; and in the year following, Nirbhay Das, a Brahman of remarkable character and history, was admitted to the Church. He had heard the gospel first from Dr. Shepherd about five

First baptisms.

years before. He followed him afterwards to Udaipur, and after a long period of darkness and doubt was, by the guidance of the Spirit, led to decide for Jesus. These were baptized by brethren from other stations, who happened to be in Udaipur; but in October of that year Dr. Shepherd was ordained by the Rajputana Presbytery, and so was able to discharge the full work of a missionary.

Dr. Shepherd ordained.



SHEPHERD MISSION HOSPITAL, UDAIPUR.

§ 103. When Dr. Shepherd went home on furlough in 1883, he received testimonials as to the high esteem in which he was held, both from the Council and from a number of the principal nobles in the state. While at home, the Students' Missionary Society gathered money for a new hospital in Udaipur. His place during his absence was taken by

Erection of a new hospital.

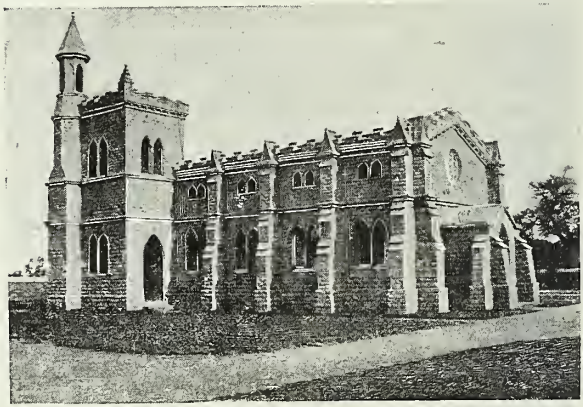
Dr. James Sommerville. He successfully treated the Rana for a dangerous illness, and secured as a fee the grant of a valuable piece of ground in the city for the erection of an hospital. A letter of thanks was sent by the Board to the Rana, which he received with much gratification. Shortly after, 26th December 1884, he died, just after Dr. Shepherd returned to Udaipur. His successor, the present Rana, a man of sterling, upright character, has shown himself quite as friendly to the mission. He presided at the opening of the mission hospital in 1886, and expressed his desire that it should be called the Shepherd Mission Hospital. The new hospital is well situated and commodious, and has greatly facilitated the medical mission work. Some time after it was opened, its first-fruits appeared in Chet Singh, a young Rajput, who had there heard the gospel.

§ 104. Shortly after this a new development of the mission took place in the form of work among the Bhils. They occupy the hills to the north of Udaipur. They are divided into clans called *Pals*, at the head of each of which is a *Gamēti*. Isa Das, the catechist, in conducting village work, lost his way, and was received by one of the Gametis, through whom he was introduced to other chiefs; and by his tact he induced some of them to visit the mission house. This led to visits of Dr. Shepherd among them. He soon secured their confidence, and was admitted to their "brotherhood." As a means of influencing them more permanently, he induced the chiefs to promise to send their sons to him for education —and with the Bhils a promise is sacred. He at once set about erecting a Home for them, and soon he had twenty-five boys sent to him. Their parents were too poor to support them, and

Work among the Bhils.

Formation of a Bhil Home.

Dr. Shepherd was in some anxiety as to how the Home could be supported; but he committed the case to God, and soon found support. The Rana and the chief men of the city took great interest in the scheme. The former gave an acre of land for the boys to cultivate, and the latter subscribed nearly three hundred rupees without being solicited. It is now taken up as one of the regular schemes of the Church. The boys are trained in general knowledge, and in some of the useful arts—



UDAIPUR CHURCH.

some as hospital assistants. Some of the older boys have declared their desire to be baptized; and the influence of the mission over the tribe is growing. It is to be hoped that it will be won to Christianity before the Brahmanising process has taken effect.

§ 105. The general work at the station has been going on steadily. The Anglo-Vernacular school is increasing in efficiency. There is a good girls' school in the bazar,

conducted by native Christian women, and a beginning has also been made in teaching some in their own homes. There is also a girls' school at Arh, a village a little way out from Udaipur. Several baptisms, though still only in units, have taken place, some of which are of a very interesting character, but space does not allow of their being told. A handsome church was opened in 1891. There is now a Christian community of about 50, with a church membership of 22.

Female education.

Present state of the mission.

CHAPTER IX

MISSIONS IN NATIVE STATES *continued*—ALWAR, JODHPUR, KOTAH.

Alwar

§ 106. ALWAR lies to the north-east of Jaipur. In extent it is the seventh of the Rajput states, having an area of 3144 square miles, and in population the fifth, having a population of 767,787. It is generally fertile. The Aravalli hills run through the centre, dividing it into two parts, pretty nearly equal. It is a comparatively modern state. Its founder was a Rajput of the Nurukha clan, one of the soldiers of fortune who, at the breaking up of the Mohammedan empire, acquired dominion for themselves. Its rulers have been enlightened men, quite in sympathy with progressive ideas. During the minority of the late Maharajah, under the Political Agent, Colonel Cadell, great improvements were introduced, which have been continued. In education, excellence of prison discipline, and general administration, Alwar occupies a foremost place among the states of Rajputana.

Alwar and its history.

Of the population, 180,000 are Mohammedans, a larger proportion than in any other Rajput state. They are mostly Meös or Mewattis, and abound chiefly in the northern part of the kingdom. They are the aborigines of the country, in

Population: the Meos.

many respects like the Mers, and from their contiguity probably to Delhi were Islamised before the Brahmans brought them into the Hindu system. Their Mohammedanism is, however, very corrupt, and greatly overlaid with idolatry. Of the Hindus, the Rajputs number only about 28,000, and the Brahmans about 73,000. The leather workers are 83,000, and the Mehtars 13,000.

§ 107. The capital, of the same name, is about half-way between Jaipur and Delhi, being a little over ninety miles distant from both. It is picturesquely situated to the south of a steep fortified section of the Aravallis, which rises like a rampart to the north, adding to the picturesqueness of the city, but reflecting the heat, and making it intolerable in the hot weather. The city is well built and clean, and has about it several beautiful gardens. It has a population of over 51,000, of whom about one-fourth are Mohammedans. Idolatry has not such a prominent outward appearance in it as in other Rajput cities. The people are more given to worldliness, avarice, and lust; and the secret "Panths," or licentious guilds, are said to be very strong.

The capital. Character of the inhabitants.

§ 108. Alwar was not one of the states contemplated in the extension movement of 1876, but the very circumstance which prevented its being thought of then led to its being occupied before either Jodhpur or Kotah. The Rev. Henry D. St. Dalmas, of the Baptist Mission, was already beginning work there. He laboured for some time with great acceptance, and left his mark on the place. He gathered a few native converts, and organised school and other missionary work —his chief coadjutor being Hassain Ali, a native of

Work of Mr. St. Dalmas.

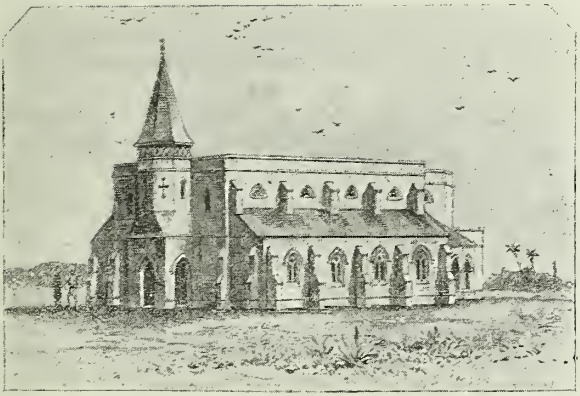
the place, whose conversion at Nasirabad has been narrated. In 1879, Mr. St. Dalmas met with severe domestic affliction, broke down in health, and was obliged to leave for home. Anxious that the result of his labours should not be lost, he applied to the United Presbyterian Mission to send an agent there. The Maharajah had given Mr. St. Dalmas the use of a bungalow, in a garden called Fazl-kā-bāgh (The Garden of Favour), and offered to continue it to any missionary who might be sent. The missionaries had not time to refer the matte me; the policy of the Church was in favour of consolidation rather than extension, but the case was urgent. No expense would be incurred in beginning the mission, so Mr. Jameson was appointed to go thither, and went with Mrs. Jameson to take up the work in the beginning of 1880.

Work taken up by the United Presbyterian Mission. Mr. Jameson settled.

§ 109. Mr. Jameson continued to work there till 1890, developing the different missionary agencies, educational and evangelistic. He went home on furlough in 1882; and while at home raised funds for mission premises, a church and school, in which he was abundantly successful. Mr. A. D. Gray, who carried on the work in his absence, secured a large native house and ground in the city, which, with a little alteration, did well for the Anglo-Vernacular school; the attendance at it soon rose to upwards of 300. The church was subsequently erected on a site gifted by the Maharajah, and opened in 1885. It is capable of holding about 300, and is conveniently situated near one of the busiest parts of the city. The Maharajah also granted a piece of ground for the erection of a regular dwelling-house for the missionary, which was soon erected. The same year that witnessed

Purchase of school. Erection of church and bungalow.

the opening of the church witnessed the first in-
gathering of converts into the Church of
First converts. Christ. The native Christians at the station had come from other parts. Several of the heathen in the city had at times declared their conviction of the truth of Christianity, but in 1885 four were baptized into the faith of Christ, and others have followed since.



ALWAR CHURCH.

Mr. Jameson was joined in 1885 by Mr. Ashcroft, who got accommodation in a bungalow that had been erected for the use of engineers when the railway was being constructed. Mr. Jameson was transferred to Nasirabad in 1890, and his place was taken by Mr. M'Innes. The usual agencies are being carried on. Besides the church and central school in buildings belonging to the mission, Vernacular schools taught by Christian pundits are carried on with great spirit in hired buildings in different quarters of the city. There was

in 1892 a Christian community of 53, with a church membership of 28.

§ 110. Work among the women was begun by Mrs. Jameson in 1886, and carried on subsequently by Mrs. Asheroft and Mrs. M'Innes. A girls' school had been established some time before as an offshoot of the work of the S.P.G. in the neighbouring state of Rewari. It was handed over to Mr. Jameson in 1887, and has since been carried steadily on. The schoolhouse was kept up by the Maharajah till his death. He also gave ten rupees a month to the work, on condition of the mission ladies inspecting the four girls' schools established by the Rāj. Zenana visitation is also kept up by the ladies, assisted by native agents.

Female education.

§ 111. There is an out-station at Bāndikūi, the junction of the Agra and Delhi lines, about thirty-seven miles from Alwar. There is here a considerable European and Eurasian population connected with the railway, and a large native town is gathering round it. Here an Anglo-Vernacular school under Christian teachers has been carried on for some time, and the gospel is preached in the bazar.

Jodhpur

§ 112. Mārwār,[1] the most extensive of the Rajput states, stretches north-west from the Aravalli hills. It has an area of about 35,000 square miles. Along the base of the Aravallis, and in occasional patches throughout the country, the ground is fertile, but generally it is desert. The

Marwar: its extent and population.

[1] Marwar is explained by Tod to mean the country of death. Lassen explains it to mean the country of sand, and this is the explanation given by all native pundits whom I have asked.

population numbered 2,519,868 in 1891. Of these, 178,000 were Mohammedans, 167,000 Jains, and the remainder, with few exceptions, Hindus. The Rajputs number 244,700, a larger proportion than in any other state; but the most numerous caste is the Jats—315,457. The Brahmans number 202,000. The Mehtars are few in number, 1297; and the leather workers, 264,000.

§ 113. The history of Marwar is interesting. When the great Gangetic kingdom of Kanauj was overthrown by the Mohammedans at the close of the twelfth century, a small band of Rahtors, the royal clan, under Jodh Singh, fled into the Great Desert. They dispossessed the Parihārs who reigned at Mandor, and near it founded the modern capital, called after their leader, Jodhpur. They multiplied in numbers, and by degrees subdued the whole of Marwar. When, two hundred years later, Baber, the founder of the Moghul Empire in India, invaded Marwar, he was encountered by thirty thousand Rahtor warriors, the progeny of the small band that originally fled thither. Though defeated, and subject for some time to the Mohammedan empire, their spirit of independence remained. They rose in revolt against Aurungzeb. Thirty years of internecine war followed — as celebrated in Rajputana as the Thirty Years' War in Germany. The Rahtors were often driven to the recesses of the Aravallis, but they issued thence again and again, and at last drove the Mohammedans entirely from Marwar, and re-established the Hindu religion. Marwar accepted the British suzerainty somewhat grudgingly, and with a jealous conservation of its territorial rights.

History of Marwar. Foundation of present state.

Struggle with the Mohammedans.

The air of the desert has given a character of inde-

pendence, sometimes almost bordering on insolence, to the Rahtors. This is manifest also in their religious character. While given over to idolatry and enslaved by its worst vices, they are less priest-ridden than almost any other class of Hindus, and believe more in Rahtors than in Brahmans. The influence of the desert is seen on all the inhabitants of Marwar. They cling to their desert home with the strongest affection. The struggle for existence there has braced their faculties. In the commercial centres of India the Mārwārīs are known as the keenest and most successful

Influence of history and climate on character.

Wealth of Marwar.

FORT OF JODHPUR.

traders. But when they have made their money they return with it to their beloved Marwar, and in the towns of that land is stored gold and silver in an abundance that could never be imagined from the character of the soil.

§ 114. The capital, Jodhpur, is situated about eight miles north of the Aravallis. A branch of the Rajputana railway passes it, going on to Bikaner. It is situated at the foot of a steep eminence, on which rises the

citadel and royal palace, a noble pile of red sandstone buildings. A wall surrounds the city, but the sand has in many parts silted up higher than it. The town is irregularly built, and is thoroughly Oriental in its character. It contains many fine sandstone buildings, large tanks, and some gardens raised with labour from the soil. It has a population of 61,849. There are several other large towns in the state, the chief of which are Pāli and Sojat to the south, Jhalor to the east, and Merta to the west.

The capital Jodhpur and other cities of Marwar.

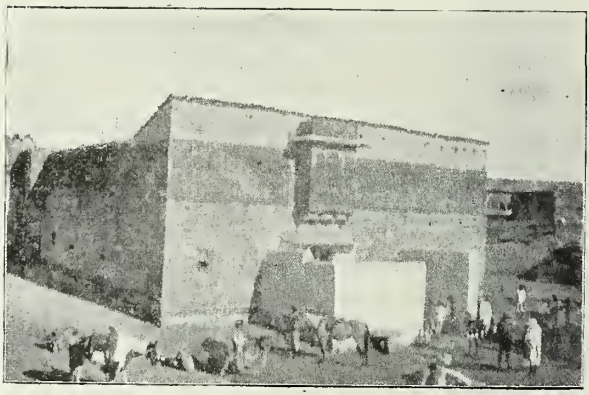
§ 115. In 1877 the occupation of Jodhpur as a mission station was recommended by the Rajputana Conference, and a deputation that visited it reported favourably as to the prospects of a mission there. It was not, however, till the beginning of 1885 that the mission staff was strong enough to allow Dr. James Sommerville, who had been officiating in Udaipur in Dr. Shepherd's absence, to proceed thither with the view of founding a station. Instead of meeting the favourable reception which he had been led to expect, he found, owing to some misunderstanding, that a strong prejudice existed against the mission. Obstacles of every kind were placed in his way. He was unable to find any place in which he could stay, and was obliged to go to Beawar.

Dr. Sommerville appointed missionary. Unfavourable reception.

§ 116. Next cold weather, committing his way to God, he returned, accompanied by Rati Ram as a native agent. By the influence of a native friend in Ajmer, the head of one of the religious houses near Jodhpur placed at his disposal a garden. There he took up his abode in the verandah of the lowest storey of the large building occupied by the "Abbot," and there he began to hold

Attempt renewed. Obstacles overcome.

Christian worship, and treat those who came to him for advice. From there he visited the city daily, trying how he might gain a footing in it, in opposition to the ruling powers, who absolutely refused to countenance him, though they had not absolutely forbidden his entering the city. Urgent in prayer to God, he at last found a house in every way well suited for the work. Thither he removed his abode, and there he began medical



HOSPITAL, JODHPUR.

mission work. Every morning the usual evangelistic address was delivered to the assembled patients and their friends. The number of cases increased so that Dr. Sommerville was obliged to get additional assistants, and the building had to be enlarged. A bookshop also was opened, by means of which useful work was done.

§ 117. The chief hindrance to the work was now the want of a suitable residence. Dr. Sommerville was joined by his wife and family during the cold season,

but they were obliged to leave when the hot weather came on. All the ground in the neighbourhood of the city belonged to the Maharajah, and though one after the other nearly all the nobles and officers of state had been won over by Dr. Sommerville's tact and skill, he still refused to grant a site or sanction the erection of a building. Here again there was nothing to do but to commit the matter in prayer to God; and the answer came at last, beyond what had been asked or thought. After many months' waiting, Dr. Sommerville was suddenly informed one day that the Marharajah had directed a bungalow to be built at his own cost for the use of the mission. An English officer of high Christian character, who had been stationed at Jodhpur and won the esteem of the Maharajah, had died. The Maharajah, to show his respect for him, resolved to erect a memorial to him, and asked his widow what form she would like it to take. She replied that the memorial she would like best, and which her husband would have liked best, was the granting of a site for a mission bungalow. The Maharajah was at first unwilling to accede to this, but at last not only did so, but resolved to erect the bungalow at his own expense for the use of the mission.

Difficulties from want of a residence. Residence secured.

§ 118. The house was completed, and entered in the close of 1887, and since then the work has been going steadily on, though difficulties have been experienced from the character of the place. School work has been begun, but has not been far developed. Open-air preaching has been judiciously carried on in various quarters of the city. Medical mission work is still the main feature, and it has secured the confidence of the entire population. Once and again presents have been made by the Darbār

Progress of work.

or court for the more efficient equipment of the dispensary.

In 1888 the first baptism took place—that of a Brahman from a neighbouring village—and several have followed since. In 1892 there was a Christian community of thirty-one, of whom seventeen were church members. Dr. Sommerville has made some itinerancies in Marwar, but one missionary cannot do much in a state as large as Scotland.

Results.

Kotah

§ 119. Kotah was formerly part of the kingdom of Bundi, whose rulers, the Haras, were renowned as the most fiercely brave of all the Rajputs. When it was divided into two, the younger branch of the family got Kotah. This included at first the state of Jhālawār, but at the beginning of this century the latter was formed into a separate state, and conferred on the prime minister of Kotah, Zalim Singh, to reward him for his eminent services to the state and to the empire.

Origin of the state of Kotah.

Kotah has a superficial area of 3784 square miles, and a population of 526,267, of whom about 34,000 are Mohammedan and 5000 Jain. The Rajputs are under 16,000, and the Brahmans about 38,000. The hill tribes number upwards of 77,000. A considerable part of the soil is rocky, but the greater part is the most fertile in Rajputana. The river Chambul flows through the state, and along its banks for miles the cereals of the cold-weather crops are raised without the help of irrigation. Kotah has been called the Garden of Rajputana, and fruit is raised here in greater abundance and greater perfection than

Its population and fertility.

anywhere else. The *Mālis*, or gardeners, number 41,000, and are more numerous than any of the agricultural castes.

The capital is situated on the banks of the Chambul, at a part where it flows, a broad, deep stream, between precipitous picturesque banks. It is noted chiefly for its beautiful and extensive gardens. Hospitals for male and female patients have been established, and there is a fairly good college. The population is 38,624, of whom a quarter are Mohammedans.

The capital.

§ 120. This state had been designated in 1877 as one of those that should be occupied, but the exigencies of other parts of the field prevented anything being done till March 1889, when the Rev. William Bonnar went there. He had frequently, on itinerancies from Deoli, visited Kotah, and had formed friendships with many of the chief men there. They had expressed their readiness to receive a mission, and welcomed him cordially when he went to settle. He soon secured a good site for a bungalow, which was erected from funds raised by the College Missionary Society.

Mr Bonnar appointed. Cordial reception.

§ 121. Mr. Bonnar resolved to avoid from the beginning the evils which experience had shown to attach to some of the older methods. He opened Vernacular schools in one or two districts of the city, and put them under Christian teachers. The people did not show any distrust of them, and the schools were soon well attended. There was a good high school in the city supported by the Rāj, under a Christian headmaster. Mr. Bonnar did not open an Anglo-Vernacular school, but invited the boys of the two senior classes to form a club for the discussion of religious questions in English—they to write short essays

Methods of work.

in English, which he would correct. The lads took up the subject very enthusiastically, chiefly on account of the prospect which it gave them of getting good practice in English. The writer was present in 1891 at one of the meetings of the club. It was held under the shade of some majestic trees in one of the splendid gardens near the city, where chairs and benches were arranged. About twenty-five young men were present, and the subject of discussion was, "Marks of a True Religion." Each read a short essay, and Mr. Bonnar summed up the whole.

Mrs. Bonnar's work and death.

§ 122. When Mr. Bonnar went to Kotah, he married Dr. Grant, one of the Zenana medical agents. She was appointed superintendent of the new female hospital opened by the Raj, and thus secured an official position. She opened a school for girls in the centre of the city, the upper storey of which was used on Sunday for the native church. She soon secured the confidence and affection of the people, and was welcomed in their homes. Going one day to visit the child of a native Christian ill with smallpox, she caught the infection, and was carried off by the deadly malady. She was mourned by all classes of the community, and the Council of Regency voted Rs. 1000 to erect some memorial of her. It was set aside as the nucleus of a fund for the erection of a church, the site for which has since been secured.

Present state of mission.

The mission here has been only a short time in existence, and no definite fruit has yet been gathered. The Christians (15 communicants, 36 adherents) are mostly from the other stations.

CHAPTER X

RESULTS AND PROSPECTS.

§ 123. This sketch of the Rajputana Mission is little more than a history of beginnings. The results as yet achieved may not seem great, but they are encouraging. The general facts that have been stated with regard to India in general show the difficulties which the gospel has to encounter in that field, and the special facts stated with regard to Rajputana and the various states show the special difficulties that have to be encountered in them. Yet in every place we have entered, the beginning of a Church has been established. As yet conversions have been witnessed only in units, not in masses. But is not this the true idea of conversion? and the conversion of multitudes is real and valuable only when it means the conversion of the individuals in these multitudes. Among those who have been converted are signal triumphs of divine grace. It would be hardly possible to find in India cases that, humanly speaking, seemed less likely to be won to Christ than some that have been won. If the Holy Spirit be given in His power and fulness, we shall see these results multiplied a hundredfold. And is God not waiting for the earnest and unfailing prayers of His people to grant an outpouring of the Spirit to bless these efforts in such results?

Character of results.

§ 124. We may also conclude that we have just to persevere in the use of the same means and methods that have been used in the past. While it is ever true that the men are more important than the methods, yet we must also see to it that the methods they employ are not such as would hinder instead of helping what personal power they have in their great aim of making known the gospel. When our mission was established in Rajputana, missionary methods which were then not questioned had been in operation in other fields, and the first missionaries to Rajputana naturally adopted them, and adapted them to the special circumstances of the field they had to occupy. In working out the details of some of them, errors may have been committed, which are now being corrected. But this must be done patiently, and not till we are sure that other plans which we might substitute are more likely to be efficacious. Other methods have produced more immediate superficial results, but they have not stood the test so well. And, taken as a whole, we have every reason to uphold the hands of our missionaries in the work and the manner of the work they are doing.

Perseverance in the use of the means.

§ 125. In seeking the further development of the native Church, the Church at home must not expect too much from it, and must be ready to help it generously for some time to come. Those who have come out of heathenism cannot be expected to have the same strong character as those who have been reared in Christianity. We may expect them to contribute to the support of ordinances from the very beginning, but to insist on their being self-supporting, and not allowing a native pastor to be settled over a native church till it

Need of patience and forbearance on the part of the Church at home.

can pay his salary, is simply to throw back the real independence of the native Church many years. What we need is good men to lead the native Christians. The native congregations, or some of them, might contribute enough to pay a salary to a minister, which, tested by the average income of the members, would be liberal, and would put him in a respectable position. But if he is a good man, he will at once be tempted to enter the service of other missionary societies by salaries half as large again, or twice as large as any that any of the congregations in Rajputana can offer; and to be a missionary to their heathen countrymen is quite as high a work as to be a pastor over their Christian countrymen. The question of the self-support of native Christians themselves is not yet so completely solved as to throw on them the support of the native Church; and the true policy for the Church at home to follow is to try to encourage the best men among the native Christians to come forward to the ministry, and get them to make it a matter of honour to lead their congregations toward self-support as soon as possible.

§ 126. There remains the question of the duty of the Church in the extension of the mission. If the results seem meagre, we must allow that the agency by which they have been attained, as compared with the extent of the field, is more meagre still. The British district is fairly well occupied as things go in India; but, compared even with other mission fields, the labourers in it are few. Its population, including that of Kishangarh, is about the same as that of Jamaica. In it we have practically the whole field to ourselves; in Jamaica there are strong missions besides our own. In it we have only five stations, eight ordained European mis-

Future expansion.

Inadequacy of the agency employed.

sionaries, and three ordained natives; in Jamaica we have fifty-two stations, nineteen ordained European missionaries, and twelve ordained natives. And what shall we say of the manner in which we have occupied the native states—all of them larger than the British district—in each of which there seems to have been no thought of stationing more than two missionaries—in three of which there are as yet only one missionary, and one of these, Jodhpur, a state as extensive as Scotland? In view of this, it is well that we should carefully consider what is the duty that lies before us.

§ 127. Here we must take a clear view of the limits of our responsibilities. We need not pretend that we can so occupy the whole of Rajputana as to make the work of any other missionary society there superfluous. To occupy the whole of Rajputana, as we have occupied the Ajmer district, would require at least 160 ordained and medical missionaries; and it is just at Ajmer, where we are strongest, that other missions have entered and found a field to work. All that we can pretend to do is to plant a strong mission in each of the places which, by divine guidance, we may be led to occupy. Meanwhile, we do not need to contemplate anything more than an efficient mission in the capital of each state which we may enter, but efficient we must seek to make it. This would require us to send at least one additional agent to three of the capitals we have already occupied—Udaipur, Jodhpur, and Kotah—and till this is done we need not think of opening a new station.

Limits of our responsibility.

Strengthening of present stations.

When this has been done, there is still a vast field for extension even on this limited scale. Leaving to the Canadian Mission in Central India the four southern

states, Banswara, Dungarpur, Partābgarh, and Jhālawār; and to the missions working from Agra, the states of the Eastern Agency, Karāoli, Dholpur, and Bhartpur; leaving out of account, too, the smaller chieftainships, there remain five states, Bikaner,[1] Jaisalmer, Sirohi, Tonk, and Bundi, which have neither a station nor out-station in which the gospel is preached.

Ground still to be taken up.

If other missions should be ready to enter these states before we are, we must remember that our aim is to win Rajputana for Christ, not for the United Presbyterian Church—must cordially welcome them to the field, and must seek further expansion and consolidation within the sphere we already occupy. Meanwhile, so long as no others are prepared to occupy the ground, these are the fields which, with the expanding liberality of the Church, we may hope to occupy. Let us hope and pray that the Spirit of Jesus may so quicken us that this shall be realised at no very distant date.

[1] Since the above was written, the Mission Board has resolved to open a mission in Bikaner, to which the Rev. Anderson Brown is appointed first missionary.

BUNDI FROM DEOLI ROAD.

APPENDIX

ANNALS OF INDIAN MISSION

1844.		Appointment of Mr. John Murdoch as Government teacher in Ceylon.
1855.		Appointment of Mr. Murdoch as agent of South India Christian School Book Society: salary paid by Wellington Street United Presbyterian Church, Glasgow.
1857.		Indian Mutiny.
,,		Formation of Indian Christian Vernacular Education Society: appointment of Mr. Murdoch as secretary: half of salary paid by United Presbyterian Church.
1858.	May.	Resolution of United Presbyterian Synod to begin a mission in India.
,,	Nov.	Adoption by Foreign Mission Committee of the province of Ajmer, in Rajputana, as sphere of new mission.
1859.		Ordination of Williamson Shoolbred, M.A., and Thomas Blair Steele, as missionaries to India.
1860.	Feb.	Baptism of Chinta Rām, by Dr. Wilson of Bombay, at Erinpura, on the way to Beāwar.
,,	Feb. 19.	Death of Mr. Steele at Erinpura.
,,	Mar. 3.	Arrival of Mr. Shoolbred, and Chinta Rām as native evangelist, at Beāwar.
,,	Aug.	Opening of school at Beāwar.
1861.	Feb.	Arrival at Beāwar of Rev. John Robson, M.A., and Mrs. Robson, and Rev. William Martin and Mrs. Martin.
,,	Aug.	Opening of new station at Nasīrābād by Mr. William Martin.

1861.	Sept.	Beginning of bazar preaching by Mr. Shoolbred.
,,	Oct.	First band of orphans (6) handed over to Mr. Shoolbred at Beāwar.
1862.		Arrival of Dr. Colin S. Valentine, F.R.C.S.E., and Mrs. Valentine, Rev. Auguste Glardon and Mrs. Glardon, in mission field.
,,		Settlement of Dr. Valentine as medical missionary at Beāwar.
,,		Settlement of Khān Singh as native evangelist at Nasīrābād.
,,	Feb.	Opening of new station at Ajmer by Messrs. Robson and Glardon, with Abd-ul-Masih as native evangelist.
,,	Nov.	Death of Abd-ul-Masih.
1863.	Jan.	Arrival of Rev. William Robb, M.A., and Mrs. Robb, at Nasīrābād.
,,	Jan. 25.	Baptism of first native convert, Paul Bhisham, at Beāwar.
,,		Settlement of Mr. John Drynan, lay missionary, at Beāwar.
,,		Settlement of Robert Phillips, native evangelist, at Ajmer.
,,	Feb. 23.	Death of Mrs. Valentine at Bombay.
,,	June 8.	First Christian marriage of natives at Beāwar.
,,	June 19.	Baptism of first convert at Nasīrābād (Lachman).
,,		Mr. Glardon obliged to leave from ill-health.
,,	Nov.	First observance of Lord's Supper by native Church at Beāwar.
,,	Dec.	Opening of new station at Todgarh by Mr. Robb, and Paul Bhisham as native evangelist.
1864.	Feb.	Settlement of Rev. Gavin Martin, M.A., and Mrs. Martin, at Nasīrābād.
,,	Feb.	Settlement of Rev. James Gray and Mrs. Gray at Ajmer.
,,	Feb.	Settlement of Rev. Andrew Shields, M.D., medical missionary, at Todgarh.
,,	Sept. 11.	Baptism of first convert at Ajmer, Magan Bijai (Isa Das).
1865.		Arrival of Miss Bonnet (Mrs. Drynan) at Beāwar.
,,	Sept. 13.	Death of Mrs. Gray at Ajmer.
,,	Nov. 5.	Baptism of first convert at Todgarh, Manāwar Khan.
1866.		Resignation of Mr. Glardon.
,,	May.	Settlement of Dr. Valentine at Jaipur in the service of the Maharajah.

1866.	Sept. 10.	Death of Mrs. William Martin at Nasīrābād.
1867.	Jan.	Settlement of Miss E. R. Alexander as Zenana agent at Nasīrābād.
,,	Aug. 3.	Death of Mr. Drynan at Beāwar.
,,	Oct. 13.	Baptism of first convert from Jaipur at Beāwar (Isa Das).
,,		Resignation of Dr. Shields.
1868.	Feb.	Settlement of Rev. Robert Gray, M.D., medical missionary, at Beāwar.
1868–70.		Severe famine and locust plague in Rajputana.
1869.		Transference of Mrs. Drynan, Zenana agent, from Beāwar to Ajmer.
,,		Resignation of Miss Alexander.
,,	April 16.	Death of Dr. Gray at Halena on way home.
,,		Opening of famine relief works by missionaries at Somalpura (Bālakpura) and Gadheri (Ashapura).
,,		Handing over of 500 orphans to the mission; establishment of orphanages at all the stations.
1870.	Feb.	Scttlement of Rev. John Hendrie at Ajmer.
,,		Settlement of Rev. William Bonnar at Nasīrābād.
,,		Settlement of Rev. John Traill at Beāwar.
,,	April.	Opening of new mission church and school at Ajmer.
,,	June 15.	Baptism of first mission orphans at Ashapura.
,,	Dec.	Return of Mr. William Martin with Mrs. William Martin to Nasīrābād.
,,		Arrival of Miss Kirk (Mrs. Traill) at Beāwar.
,,		Settlement of John Husband, F.R.C.S.E., medical missionary, and Mrs. Husband, at Beāwar.
1871.	March.	Opening of new mission station at Deoli by Mr. Bonnar.
,,		Mr. Robson leaves the mission in bad health.
,,		Settlement of Rev. George Macalister, M.A., at Beāwar.
,,		Settlement of James Sommerville, M.A., L.R.C.P.E., as medical missionary at Beāwar.
,,		Transference of Dr. Husband to Ajmer as medical missionary there.
1872.		Formation of agricultural village for orphans at Ashapura.
,,	April.	Settlement of Mr. Traill at Jaipur.
1873.	Jan.	Settlement of James Shepherd, M.A., M.D., as medical missionary at Deoli.
,,	Jan.	Settlement of William Clark, M.B., C.M., as medical missionary, and Mrs. Clark, at Nasīrābād.

1873.	Mar. 2.	Opening of new church at Beāwar.
1874.		Settlement of Rev. A. P. C. Jameson and Mrs. Jameson at Todgarh.
,,		Arrival of Mrs. Macalister, Mrs. Sommerville, and Mrs. Hendrie in mission field.
,,		Formation of Ashapura as separate station under Mr. William Martin.
,,	Oct. 29.	Death of Rev. Gavin Martin at Ashapura.
,,		Resignation of Mr. Robson.
,,		Settlement of Mdlle. Gnillaumet of Geneva as Zenana agent at Ajmer, supported by Geneva Church.
,,		Appointment of Mrs. Gavin Martin, Zenana agent, at Nasīrābād.
1875.		Death of Mrs. Macalister at Ajmer.
1876.		Resignation of Mrs. Gavin Martin, now Mrs. James Gray.
,,		Settlement of Rev. A. D. Gray, M.A., at Ajmer.
,,		Transference of Mr. Hendrie to Nasīrābād.
1877.		Opening of mission station at Alwar by Mr. St. John Dalmas, of Baptist Mission.
,,		Opening of new church at Deoli.
,,		Opening of new station at Udaipur by Dr. Shepherd.
,,		Resignation of Mr. Hendrie, Nasīrābād.
1877–78.		Partial famine in Rajputana.
1878.		Dr. Valentine ceases to be formally an agent of the mission.
1879.	July 25.	Death of Mrs. William Martin at Ashapura.
1879–80.		Visit of Rev. David Young, D.D., and Duncan M'Laren, jun., Esq., to Rajputana.
1880.		Station at Alwar handed over to United Presbyterian Mission under Mr. Jameson.
,,		Adoption by United Presbyterian Church of Zenana Mission as a special branch of mission work.
,,	Oct. 12.	Formation of Presbytery of Rajputana.
,,	Oct. 27.	Ordination of Dr. Shepherd by Presbytery of Rajputana at Ajmer.
1881.		Settlement of Miss Katherine Miller and Miss Mary Young, Zenana agents, at Ajmer.
,,		Settlement of Miss Isabella Flett and Miss Lucy H. Anderson, Zenana agents, at Nasīrābād.
,,		All orphanages closed except that of Beāwar.
1882.		Settlement of Miss Mary M. Proeter at Beāwar.
1883.	July 17.	Ordination of Dr. Husband at Ajmer.
,,	Oct. 25.	Death of Rev. William Martin at Nasīrābād.

1883.	Nov. 7.	Ordination of Dr. Sommerville at Ajmer.
,,	Dec.	Return of Miss Guillaumet as Zenana agent to Ajmer.
,,		Establishment of printing press at Ajmer.
1884.	Mar. 12.	Licence of Amrah, Rāma, Hasan Ali, Manāwar Khān, and Devī Rām as preachers.
,,		Resignation of Miss Procter, now Mrs. Macalister.
,,	Nov.	Transference of Mr. M'Quistan to Ashapura.
,,		Settlement of Rev. Francis Ashcroft, M.A., and Rev. J. Anderson Brown, M.A., at Beāwar.
,,		Settlement of Rev. John M'Innes, M.A., at Udaipur.
,,		Settlement of Miss Agnes L. Jackson, Zenana agent, at Nasīrābād.
,,		Transference of Mr. Ashcroft to Alwar.
1885.	Mar. 1.	Opening of new church at Alwar.
,,		Commencement of Zenana work at Jaipur by Miss Miller and Miss Guillaumet.
,,		Opening of new station at Jodhpur by Dr. Sommerville.
1886.	Mar. 11.	Ordination of Amrah, native pastor, at Beāwar.
,,	Nov. 9.	Opening of Martin Memorial Church at Nasīrābād.
,,	Nov. 10.	Ordination of Devī Rām, native pastor, at Nasīrābād.
,,	Nov.	Settlement of William Huntly, M.A., B.Sc., M.B., C.M., and Mrs. Huntly, at Beāwar.
,,	Nov.	Settlement of Rev. William F. Martin, M.A., at Nasīrābād.
,,	Nov.	Settlement of Miss Robina N. Oubridge and Miss Margaret S. Anderson at Nasīrābād.
,,		Arrival of Miss Ireland (afterwards Mrs. Bonnar), Miss Agnes Robson (Mrs. Ashcroft), and Miss Jane Gray (Mrs. M'Innes).
,,	Dec. 28.	Opening of mission hospital (Shepherd Hospital) at Udaipur.
1887.	April.	Settlement of Miss Isabella C. Gow at Ajmer.
,,		Resignation of Miss Flett.
,,	Sept. 18.	Death of Mrs. Bonnar at Deoli.
,,	Dec. 18.	Transference of Mr. Wm. F. Martin to Deoli.
,,	Dec.	Transference of Mr. M'Innes to Jaipur.
,,	Dec.	Settlement of Miss Euphemia A. Gray at Jaipur.
1888.		Arrival of Miss Lilla Robson (Mrs. W. F. Martin).
,,		Closing of orphanage at Beāwar.
,,		Resignation of Mr. A. D. Gray.
,,		Resignation of Miss M. Spalding Anderson.
1889.		Opening of new station at Kotah by Mr. Bonnar.
	March.	Settlement of Miss Jean Helen Grant, L.R.C.P. & S.E., at Ajmer, and Miss Jane S. Wilson at Jaipur.

1889.		Transference of Miss Gow to Beāwar.
1890.		Transference of Mr. Jameson to Nasīrābād, and of Mr. M'Innes to Alwar.
,,		Resignations of Miss Jackson, Miss Guillaumet, Miss Jane S. Wilson, and Dr. J. H. Grant (afterwards Mrs. Bonnar).
,,		Settlement of Miss Catherine V. A. Hutton at Ajmer.
1891.	April 19.	Death of Isa Das at Udaipur.
,,	May 3.	Death of Mrs. Bonnar at Kotah.
,,	May 13.	Death of Mrs. M'Quistan at Ashapura.
,,	July 5.	Opening of new church at Udaipur.
,,		Resignation of Miss Oubridge.
,,	Nov.	Settlement of Rev. James Mair, M.A., and Mrs. Mair (Miss Annie Martin), at Alwar.
,,		Settlement of Miss Martha B. Croll at Jaipur.
,,		Settlement of Miss Jessie Paterson at Nasīrābād.
,,		Transference of Mr. Ashcroft to Ajmer.
,,		Transference of Dr. Huntly to Jodhpur.
1892.		Adoption of Bhil Home at Udaipur as part of Foreign Mission agency.
,,		Opening of Normal School at Beāwar in Orphanage buildings.
,,	July 16.	Ordination of Manāwar Khan, native pastor, at Todgarh.
,,		Settlement of Miss Annie E. Steven at Jaipur.
,,		Settlement of Rev. Matthew Brown at Alwar.
,,		Transference of Mr. M'Quistan to Alwar.
,,		Settlement of Miss Margaret T. Watson at Beāwar.
,,		Settlement of Miss Marian M'Intosh at Beāwar.
1893.		Transference of Mr. Mair to Beāwar.
,,		Settlemeut of Rev. John Whitehouse, M.B., C.M., at Udaipur.
,,		Transference of Mr. Jameson to Udaipur.
,,		Christian Vernacular Education Society merged in Christian Literature Society, Dr. Murdoch agent for South India.
1894		Appointment of Rev. And. R. Low, M.A.
,		Appointment of Mr. J. Inglis (printer) and Miss Susan D. Campbell, L.R.C.P. & S.E.

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MISSION MAP OF RAJPUTANA

The Edinburgh Geographical Institute

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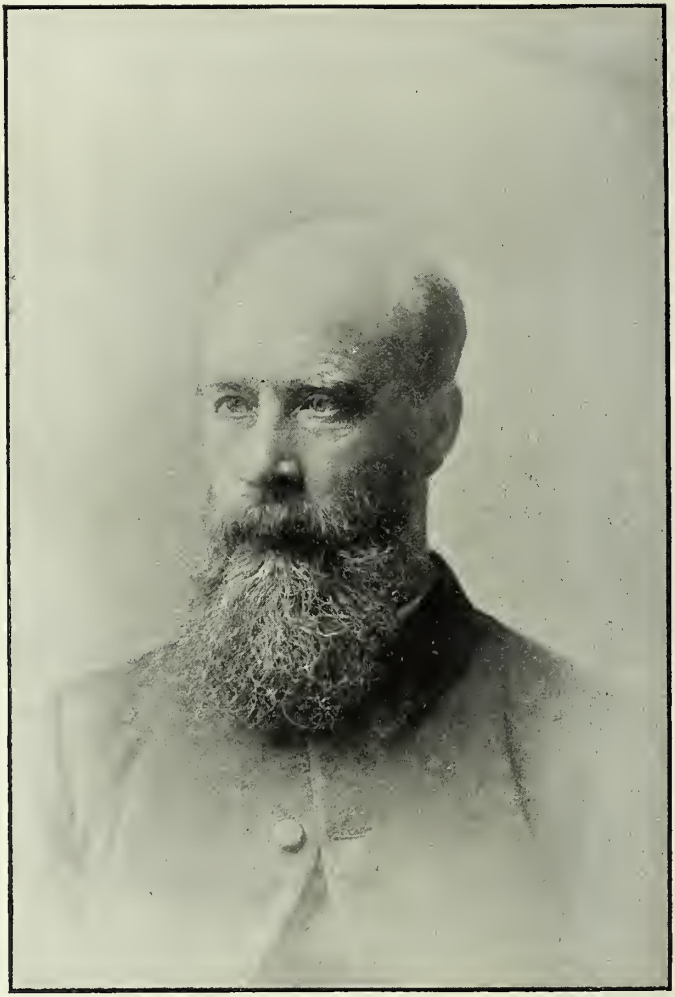
THE STORY OF OUR MANCHURIA MISSION



JOHN ROSS, D.D.

Missions of the

United Presbyterian Church

THE STORY OF OUR MANCHURIA MISSION

BY

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PREFACE

The writing of the annals of the Manchuria Mission has been a work of intense interest. The evidences which the story unfolds of the guiding hand of Jehovah throughout the history of the Mission are many and striking, nor is the evidence less clear in regard to the mighty quickening and regenerating power of the Holy Spirit in changing hearts and lives. Feeling deeply my insufficiency to handle such a theme aright, I can but pray that the Lord of Missions may so bless these pages as to make them bear a message from Himself to the Church. May the record of the blessing which has already been vouchsafed to this Mission constrain many to give more, and pray more, for the uplifting of the millions of Manchuria into the light of life.

While the present record tells only of the work connected with our own Mission, it will be borne in mind that the Irish Presbyterian Mission in Manchuria is closely identified with ours. The two Churches share in the same great aims, and rejoice together in the same triumphs.

E. C. M'L.

Edinburgh, *December* 1895.

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THE STORY OF OUR MANCHURIA MISSION

CHAPTER I

ENTRANCE ON WORK

REV. WILLIAM BURNS.

WHO will doubt that a prophetic vision was granted to the dying saint, William Burns, when on the borderland of Manchuria, which he had reached only to die, and when face to face with the long unbroken darkness of a land wholly given to idolatry, he exclaimed, "God will carry on the good work; I have no fears for that"! By faith he saw the mustering of the Lord's servants for the battle against heathenism, and His redeemed ones gathered in from Manchuria, so he was content to lay his own armour

down, and take possession of the promised land by his grave.

A missionary of the Presbyterian Church of England, the Rev. William Burns, after many years of faithful service in China, was drawn to Manchuria by its great needs. He reached Newchwang, the port of Manchuria, in the autumn of 1867, sailing in a native junk from Tien-tsin. It is interesting to note that the captain of this junk, though a heathen, would take no passage-money from Burns, so impressed was he by his life, and by the knowledge that he was going to Manchuria, not to trade for his own gain, but to seek to benefit others. A few short months of earnest work in Newchwang brought his missionary career to a close, and he was laid to rest till the resurrection morn in the foreign cemetery there.

Rev. William Burns.

The workers pass away, but God looks after the preparation of others, and all the links in the chain of providence are of His welding. Some years before Burns landed in Manchuria, the Lord was stirring the hearts of a few earnest members of the United Presbyterian Church, and leading them to look with compassion on the unevangelised millions of the great Empire of China. Dr. William Parker, a native of Glasgow, and a missionary in connection with the Evangelical Society of London, had been at work for five years in Ningpo, a large city on the coast of China, and one of the five Treaty Ports, in which alone at that time secluded China permitted the residence of foreigners. A Scotch auxiliary of this mission existed in Glasgow, and when the London society was dissolved, an earnest desire arose among friends of the cause in Scotland that the good work so successfully carried on by Dr. Parker should not be allowed to lapse.

Dr. William Parker.

No doubt a visit home from Dr. Parker at this time deepened this resolve. He was able to tell of forty thousand Chinese patients having not only been treated medically, but having had the gospel preached to them, while some had been brought to a knowledge of the truth. A committee was formed, with Mr. John Henderson of Park as chairman, and sufficient funds were raised to defray the expenses and salaries of two missionaries for three years. This being done, the Mission Board were approached, and were asked to undertake the management of this Mission if the Synod would authorise them to do so. The Mission Board thereupon submitted the matter to the Synod at their meeting in May 1862, stating their readiness to manage the Mission, though not considering it wise to pledge themselves to its continuance when the three years should expire, unless the state of the funds placed at their disposal should put it in their power to do so without interfering with the continuation and extension of the already existing missions of the Church. The Synod unanimously agreed to sanction this request, and thus a forward step was taken by our Church for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom,—a step which, in the providence of God, was destined to lead to great results.

Inception of the work.

It is always interesting to trace the genesis of any important cause, to note the small beginning out of which momentous results grow. How much more so when the issues at stake are for eternity, and when development and advance mean the growth of the kingdom of righteousness. Much interest therefore attaches to the appointment of Dr. Parker as our first Chinese missionary, for in it we see our Church waking up in some measure to her duty in regard to dark China's spiritual night.

Dr. Parker sailed for China with his wife in January 1862. The Tai-ping rebellion had been throwing its dark shadow over a portion of the Empire; and when Dr. Parker reached Ningpo in March, he found it was in the hands of the rebels, and that it was unsafe to resume his work. During the summer, however, the insurgents were expelled by the British and French forces; and as soon as the distracted state of the country allowed, Dr. Parker was hard at work again in Ningpo. Strong of faith, he never seems to have doubted that the raiding and wrath of the rebels would be overruled by God for the furtherance of His cause; and it is cheering to know that he was comforted by seeing the belief of the people shaken in the idols which had proved powerless to help them in their time of need. It was also given him to see a greater willingness on the part of many to listen to the truth, ere, in the mysterious dealings of God, he was taken home. In the midday of his strength and usefulness the summons suddenly came.

Death of Dr. Parker.

Returning home from the hospital on horseback one afternoon in January 1863, he had occasion to cross one of the numerous narrow canals which intersect the city. A stone slab of the bridge gave way, and he was precipitated into the canal, receiving injuries which proved fatal a few days afterwards. This was a heavy blow to the young and still feeble Mission, but Ningpo was not left long by our Church without a witness to the truth, for by April 1864 Dr. John Parker was carrying on the work of his lamented brother.

In 1869 the pressing claims of China were anew brought before the Church, and earnest appeals were made that an evangelistic missionary should respond to the urgent call that was coming from Ningpo. Abundant means were now available for developing the work,

as the contributions of the founders of the Mission had been increased by a legacy of £4000 from Mr. Henderson of Park. In March 1870, Mr. Lewis Nicol, a Scotch catechist who had been successfully labouring in China for several years, was appointed as an unordained evangelist for work in Ningpo.

A few months later an arrangement was entered upon with the National Bible Society, that our Church should share the services of the Rev. Alexander Williamson, who had been engaged for seven years as an agent of the Bible Society in China. Mr. Williamson was thus already an experienced missionary. A man of great energy and indomitable perseverance, he had not only travelled widely in connection with the system of extensive Bible distribution which he conducted, but had spent much time and strength in purely missionary work in and around Chefoo. It was in this way that providence led our Church to take the forward step of commencing work in Chefoo, an important seaport town situated on the promontory of the province of Shan-tung.

Rev. A. Williamson.

At this period China was in a very unsettled condition, and, in order to better understand the state of affairs, we will now take a retrospective glance at the history which intervenes between the signing of the Treaty of Nanking, in 1842, and the year 1870. That treaty, as is well known, made the first breach in the hitherto impenetrable wall of seclusion behind which China had so long entrenched herself,—but sad and humbling to us, as a nation, is the cause which led up to this important event. The foreigner's opium had for years been smuggled into China against the express wishes of her rulers, and an effort by them to stem the evil it was

Retrospective glance.

working led to the first Opium War with Great Britain, which began in the summer of 1841, and was concluded a year later by the Treaty of Nanking. We would fain draw a veil over the cruel deeds that were committed by our countrymen against their untrained and ignorant foe, and leave this dark blot in our nation's history with the All-Merciful One, who wondrously, in this instance, made good to spring from evil.

Peace being for the time restored through the treaty, missionary societies took advantage of the open doors set before them, and the godly lives and earnest labours of many a faithful missionary did much at this time to soften the deeply-rooted prejudices of the people with whom they came in contact. But the smuggling of opium went on unchecked,—much of it, alas! being brought by vessels flying the British flag. All efforts to induce China to legalise the traffic by taxing the drug had proved unavailing, lasting credit being due to the pagan emperor, who, in spite of a Christian nation's appeal, refused to derive a revenue from the vice and misery of his people!

Treaty of Nanking.

Again, in 1857, war broke out, and again, six months later, Britain, with the allied forces of France, Russia, and America, was dictating terms of peace to the Government of China. The Treaty of Tien-tsin was concluded in June 1858. It provided that the importation of opium as an article of commerce should be legalised; that foreign ambassadors should take up their residence in Pekin, and that they should be received by the Court there as representatives of the Western nations. Clauses were also introduced in favour of the toleration of Christianity, and the granting of passports to foreigners for journeys and residence in the interior of the Empire.

Treaty of Tien-tsin.

All this could not be brought about without the traditional dislike to foreigners being in many instances intensified. The mandarins and the literati, proud of their ancient and complex civilisation, scorned the introduction of Western ideas, and would fain have rebuilt the wall of their seclusion, and banished everything foreign from their shores. Finding themselves unable to do this, they were the main instigators of many evil reports which began to be circulated against missions and missionaries,—reports which led to various riots, and, early in the summer of 1870, brought about the terrible massacre at Tien-tsin, when no less than twenty Europeans were murdered, including the Sisters of Mercy connected with the French Roman Catholic Mission there. Such disquieting news led the Synod of 1871 to appoint a deputation to confer with friends of missions in London and with the Government in regard to the protection of missionaries, and the proper carrying out of the toleration clause agreed to by treaty. Just then the Chinese Government, encouraged, no doubt, by some unwise speeches which had been made in the House of Lords by those who were adverse to missions, put out a feeler in the form of a despatch, speciously worded, the object of which was to secure the abolition of the treaty's toleration clause, and limit missionary action throughout the Empire by a variety of restrictions.

Massacre of Tien-tsin.

It was a question of momentous gravity, the question really being,—Was the door by which Christianity had at last found an entrance to one-third of the human race, after long centuries of exclusion, to be once more closed? America's answer to this question was first heard, and it was firm and unmistakable. A few anxious weeks having elapsed, the British Foreign Minister also gave

voice to a clear and distinct negative. Thus here, again, we trace the working of the Almighty; for through these designs, wholly intended for evil, we find the legal toleration of Christianity established on a firmer basis than ever before.—"Unto Thee, O God, do we give thanks."

A PRIMITIVE BRIDGE.

CHAPTER II

DEVELOPMENT AND ADVANCE

THE commencement of our mission work in Chefoo was entered upon with much hopefulness. As a place, it is one of the healthiest and most attractive spots in China, its winters being cold and bracing, while the heat of summer is tempered by cool sea-breezes. Its harbour is fine, and it is surrounded by mountain peaks, which rise in a great semicircle behind it.

Friends of the Mission were made glad by Dr. William A. Henderson offering to go as a medical missionary. He arrived in April 1871, while Mr. Williamson—after this to be known as Dr. Williamson—returned with his wife, after furlough, at the end of November. The Rev. John Macintyre, who had given up his church at Baillieston, in order to carry the Word of life to the far-off regions beyond, reached Chefoo the following New Year's Day, "a grand New Year's gift to China," as Dr. Williamson expressed it. About this date Mr. Nicol also went to Chefoo, having been transferred from Ningpo, but unfortunately his health did not stand the strain of the work, and very shortly afterwards he had to leave China.

Beginning in Chefoo.

Much of the bitter opposition which had been experi-

enced by Dr. Williamson in the past had now given way to friendly feeling. Some of the members of one of the chief literary families, who had done all they could to dislodge the missionary and drive him from Chefoo, actually came spontaneously to Dr. Williamson and offered to sell stones for his new house. Very shortly after the arrival of the missionaries, steps were taken for the erection of a church, and also of a hospital and dispensary, while almost from its initial stage the mission began to expand towards the interior. With characteristic energy, Mr. Macintyre set out, very early in his missionary career, for Tsi-nan-foo, the capital of the province, and found an important sphere awaiting him there, and also at Wei-Hsien, where Mr. Murray of the Bible Society, who has done subsequently such a great work among the blind in China, was at that time stationed.

Expansion.

Mr. Macintyre found travelling in Shan-tung very difficult. The distance between Chefoo and Tsi-nan-foo is only about 360 miles, but it took nearly fifteen days to accomplish the journey: nearly 200 miles were done on foot, as the cart-tracks were in a deplorable condition. He found remains of splendid old roads, which had once been paved with immense blocks of limestone, but were in such disrepair that even Chinese carters dreaded being bumped over the worn and broken blocks, and tried to seek out a new path, often over arable land.

Wei-Hsien is one of the most important market-towns lying between Chefoo and Pekin, a centre of busy life and industry. Mr. Macintyre made some interesting friends on his first visit, and received such encouragement that in 1873 it was finally arranged to take advantage of this open door and begin systematic mission work there. One of the results of Mr.

Wei-Hsien.

Macintyre's visit was to induce a native doctor named Chin to go and see Dr. Henderson at Chefoo. He stayed for about a month, and saw a good deal of the Western treatment of disease. At first he thought the surgical methods most barbarous, declaring that Chinese nostrums were greatly superior to a system which necessitated the

A ROUGH ROAD.

loss of a part of the human body. He continued, however, to watch the medical missionary closely, and ere long there was no one louder in his praise. This was only one of many cases where Dr. Henderson's medical skill proved most useful in removing prejudice. The number of his patients grew rapidly, and hearts, yet untouched by the gospel, had Christianity's great prin-

ciple of love brought before them in a practical form, which they could understand and appreciate.

Tung-Hsin.

The new Mission premises, in which Dr. Henderson carried on much of his work, were situated at Tung-Hsin, two miles to the west of Chefoo. Here also was the little church, which was well filled every Sabbath morning, and where, not long after his return, Dr. Williamson had the joy of baptizing five persons, including "one fine literary man and the assistant surgeon of the hospital." Work among the women was also steadily prosecuted under the superintendence of Mrs. Williamson. A boarding-school, as well as a day-school for girls, was begun with gratifying results, while one or two village schools in the surrounding districts were established. The education of girls and women is looked upon in China as being very unnecessary, and it is usually a matter of peculiar difficulty to get girls to attend school; hence the beginning made in this way shows the advance which the Mission had made, and the influence the missionaries had gained over the people.

Leaving Ningpo.

The city of Ningpo being now well supplied with missionaries of other Societies, it was agreed, after consideration, and in accordance with Dr. Parker's wishes, to wind up our Mission there, and concentrate the work in North China,—Chefoo being looked upon as the centre from which the work would widen out. God, however, was preparing the way for another forward step, and had another goal to which to lead our Church.

Rev. John Ross.

With the appointment of the Rev. John Ross as a missionary to China, we enter upon a new epoch of our Mission. When Mr. Ross arrived with his wife at Chefoo, in August 1872, he found it, comparatively speaking, well supplied with

missionaries, while across the Gulf of Pei-chih-li a powerful call was coming from the great region of Manchuria, and the guiding hand of Providence was pointing to the millions there, sitting in darkness without God and without hope. Quickly responding to the call, Mr.

NEWCHWANG.

Ross made Chefoo little more than a halting-place, and sailed almost immediately for Newchwang, where, as we have already seen, William Burns closed his devoted career.

Arrival in Newchwang.

Dr. Hunter, a medical missionary sent out by the Irish Presbyterian Mission, was the only labourer in this great harvest-field of Manchuria when Mr. Ross arrived. Surrounded by difficulties, and realising full well the vastness of the work and the intense tenacity with which the people clung to their own hoary faiths,

Mr. Ross never doubted the ultimate triumph of the gospel, nor ever faltered in his belief that the preaching of the glad tidings would prove to be the power of God unto salvation; and it has been given to him, in greater measure than to most, to see the reward of his faith and of his earnest labours;—but we anticipate.

MODE OF TRAVELLING.

CHAPTER III

AN OPEN DOOR

BEFORE we pass on to consider the opening up of mission work in Manchuria, it will be well to glance at some of the characteristics of that land. The Chinese name for Manchuria is Kuan-tung, or "East of the Barrier." It is divided into three provinces, Feng-tien or Sheng-ching in the south, Kirin in the centre, and Hei-lung-chiang in the north. It contains an area of 300,000 miles, with a population supposed to be about 25,000,000. Manchuria lies outside of the Great Wall of China, and is therefore not part of China proper. It has in centuries past proved to be more than once a disturbing and dominating influence in Chinese history, while in the year 1643 it conquered China, placed a Manchu Emperor on the Dragon throne, and founded a dynasty which still rules over the vast Chinese Empire.

The three provinces.

An extensive plain stretches from Newchwang in a north-easterly direction to the river Amur. This plain having good arable soil, is well cultivated by the industrious natives, who raise a variety of crops, the principal being millet, maize, wheat, and beans. Paddy rice, the staple food in many parts of China, cannot be grown in

Characteristics of Manchuria.

Manchuria on account of the climate, and is consequently little used. Millet takes its place as the chief food of the majority of the people, salted beans or cabbage being often eaten along with it as a relish. The main road which leads from Newchwang into the

GRAIN STACK.

interior traverses this plain; close to it the large important cities are found, while the smaller towns and villages, which are thickly dotted over the plain, are reached by tracks little deserving the name of roads. Away to the west the mountains of Mongolia shut in this plain, while lower ranges of hills bound it to the east.

Natural features.

Though much of Manchuria is flat and uninteresting, picturesque scenery is also to be found. The Chien-shan mountains, or "The Thousand Peaks," to the south of Liao-yang, strongly resemble our Highland hills, while the hills and valleys in the north have a beauty all their own. The highest mountain bears the name of the "Long White Mountain," its height being 8000 feet. The country is considered to be rich in minerals, including gold, silver, and copper, but, owing to the superstitious fears of the people, who dread the configuration of the earth being disturbed, mining lies under a ban, very little being allowed. The climate is varied: for four months of the year an arctic winter holds sway, and during that time, owing to frozen rivers, there is no communication with the outer world. The summers are of tropical heat, while spring and autumn are temperate and pleasant.

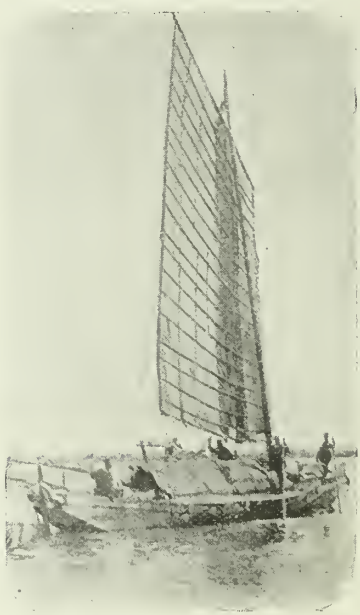
Difficulties of travel.

Travelling in Manchuria, as in China proper, is extremely difficult. The roads are full of ruts and holes, and after heavy rains are often positively dangerous. In some districts mud walls are to be found by the side of the road, and, when practicable, it is pleasanter to walk or ride on these than be bumped or knocked about in a springless Chinese cart, in which, as one traveller says, "your teeth are nearly shaken out of your head, and your breath out of your body!" The pleasantest highways of travel are the rivers. The Liao, which flows through the great plain, is crowded with boats. Most of these are simply flat-bottomed boats with a hood-shaped awning in the centre. They are not luxurious, and the traveller who makes use of them has need of long patience, as frequently the large ribbed sail is of little

use in the many bends of the ever-winding river, and slow tracking or poling has to be resorted to. The river is muddy, and the banks by its sluggish course have little beauty, but the busy life and ever-changing scenes on the river itself are full of interest.

Another reason which commends river-travelling is, that one avoids having to make use of the very doubtful comfort provided by the inns. Chinese inns are certainly unique. Picture a dirty courtyard, crowded with carts, mules, donkeys, pigs, and innumerable human beings; a long low building of a poor and dejected aspect, and frequently bearing marks that it shares the antiquity of all things Chinese, runs along one side of the square. A closer inspection does not improve matters; the walls would not be considered very respectable for a stable in the home land, black paper hangs from them in grimy shreds, and cobwebs of long standing throw a dusky veil over roof and all below it. Heated brick beds, called *kangs*, run on

Native inns.



FLAT-BOTTOMED BOAT.

either side of the long narrow room; on these are many men, sleeping, eating, or talking. The privacy to be obtained in the so-called private rooms at the end is not great, as the partitions frequently reach only halfway up to the ceiling, while paper windows afford many a peep-hole for prying eyes. The air reeks with smoke partly from opium and tobacco

AN INN.

pipes, and partly from objectionable oil-lamps; and yet, in spite of all this, the landlord, or "Honourable Number One," as he is called, has the audacity to give his inn a high-sounding title, such as "The home of heavenly repose," or "The place of eternal peace!"

When the present Manchu dynasty was founded, a large proportion of the able-bodied population migrated to China as soldiers, and for a time Manchuria was

virtually depopulated. After an interval of years, measures were taken to repeople the country, and for the last two centuries an annual influx, principally from North China, has been going on. The Manchus now form but a small proportion of the population, and the Chinese language is universally spoken, though in some of the remote valleys the Manchus still retain their language.

Having taken this brief survey of the country, we will now turn our thoughts to Newchwang, the birthplace and cradle of our Manchuria Mission.

Newchwang.

The Chinese name for the seaport town of Newchwang is Ying-tzu, or Ying-kou, there being another town called Newchwang about thirty miles to the north. Newchwang, the port, is important not only in itself, but because it is the door into Manchuria, the only way by which the millions yet untouched by the gospel of love could be reached; for when Mr. Ross arrived in Manchuria, it was the only place where foreigners could legally reside, though visits into the country by means of passports were allowed.

A grievous trial befell Mr. Ross on the very threshold of his missionary career. In March 1873, after only a few months' residence at Newchwang, Mrs. Ross died, and was laid to rest close by the grave of William Burns. As soon as it could be arranged, Mr. Ross's sister set sail for China, in order to take charge of his motherless babe, and help to brighten his desolated home. With a great aptitude for the acquisition of languages, Mr. Ross made rapid progress in Chinese. Before a year had elapsed he was preaching to the people in their own tongue, in a house which had been secured, after considerable difficulties, in the heart of the town, and which had been turned into a little

Death of Mrs. Ross.

chapel. Daily service was held here, with an average attendance of about thirty.

Before the end of 1873, Mr. Ross had travelled over the greater part of the southerly province. He found the people friendly for the most part, and succeeded in opening a new station at a village, a dozen miles from the port, named Tai-ping-shan. The tremendous claims of Manchuria, not only on account of the number, but also because of the intellect and power of the people, were very early borne in upon Mr. Ross, and he used his pen forcibly to send the Macedonian cry to the Church at home, urging that the best and ablest messengers should be sent to this needy field, as the work was such as would tax the highest energies and give free scope for the noblest gifts.

Founding the Church.

During the year 1874 a marked advance was made; not a few, scattered up and down the province, were inquiring the way of salvation, while another out-station, at Kai-chou, had been established. Four native evangelists were by this time at work, and, with a membership of thirteen, the Manchurian Church may now be said to be founded. Mr. Ross resolved to prosecute the work, which had thus hopefully been begun, in a northerly direction, the Irish Presbyterian Mission having chosen the west in which to extend their operations. Mr. Ross had already made two important journeys, one to Pekin and the other to the Korean "Gate," in order to better understand the people and their needs, and the strength and obstinacy of the obstacles to be overcome. He found the traditional conservatism of the people, and their belief in their own past and present greatness, so strong as to make them care little for the teaching of a "barbarous" stranger; yet beside all waters and

in all seasons he sowed the good seed, strong of faith that it would one day shake like Lebanon.

In 1875 it was deemed advisable that Mr. Macintyre should join Mr. Ross in Manchuria. The oversight of the constantly developing work was becoming impossible for one missionary, and it was ever becoming clearer, in the doors of entrance that were being opened, that the Lord was going before His servants and beckoning them onward. The gospel torch had been lit in no less than six centres of influence, extending in a chain, stretching from Newchwang to Moukden, the capital. It was arranged that, in order to keep up the continuity of the work, Mr. Ross and Mr. Macintyre should take turns in making itinerating tours to these stations, not only to preach but to shepherd those who had chosen Christ as their portion, teaching them to observe the all things commanded by Him.

Mr. Macintyre goes to Manchuria.

CHAPTER IV

TWO GREAT CITIES

MOUKDEN, the capital of Manchuria, is a large and handsome city. Its imposing walls measure about a mile long on each side, while populous suburbs extend round the city for fully a mile beyond the walls; these also are surrounded by outer walls formed of mud.

Moukden.

The population is reckoned to be about 300,000. The streets of Manchu cities are wide, but are unpaved, and, like the country roads, are frequently in shocking condition. Those of Moukden are crowded all day long with eager, busy throngs. The shops, with their interesting and curious wares, are open to the street, while long picturesque signboards hang suspended from the roofs. Some of the most important looking buildings are the pawn-shops, largely patronised by the inhabitants; while Confucian, Buddhist, and Taoist temples, many of them with pagoda towers, are seen in all directions.

To this stronghold of idolatry, two evangelists, Wang and Tang, were sent during 1876, Mr. Ross and Mr. Macintyre having already made repeated visits. Keen opposition prevailed at first, and both missionaries and evangelists had to suffer indignities for Christ's sake. But joy was

Opposition and trials.

mingled with their grief, for during the year five converts were baptized, while many came Nicodemus-like seeking after the light. Public profession was attended at this time with severe trials. "It would not matter what I might be called upon to suffer," one of the

STREET CORNER IN MOUKDEN.

members said one day, "if only my old friends remained by me." Then he went on to tell how he was treated, as if an impassable gulf existed between him and his relations. By many, conversion was supposed to be the result of magic, acting through means of a pill or powder, and making the recipient the slave of

the foreigner. But the active opponents of Christianity were already beginning to lay aside their open hostility, and some enemies even became friends, and began to examine the nature of the strange new "doctrine."

Accommodation for a preaching chapel had been secured, and very soon it was found necessary to remove the forms, as the people so crowded each other that it was impossible for any to sit down. No doubt curiosity brought many, but the Holy Spirit's power was very manifest even in those early days. Frequent conversations and debates took place after the Word had been preached, and interrogations and denunciations would go on till the defiant Confucianist would be obliged to desist for want of breath. Sometimes a deep silence would follow, and every face would be turned towards Mr. Ross, when in solemn and emphatic sentences he reasoned of righteousness and judgment to come.

Preaching chapel.

As we advance in the history of the Mission, it will clearly be seen that the ministry of the preaching chapels has been one of the most fruitful sources of the blessing which has been vouchsafed, and it is interesting to note that even in the initial stages it was given a prominent place. Educational work, apart from benefiting the converts, has not been adopted in the policy of our Manchuria Mission, though it has been the care of our missionaries from the first to look after the education of the children of Christians. But, at the beginning of our Mission, primary schools were established to which heathen children were welcomed; and the showers of blessing did not pass by the little ones, for during 1876, of the forty children attending the school at Newchwang, there

Prominence given to preaching.

were not any who had not renounced the idolatrous customs of their fathers.

In 1877 the gaunt spectre of famine was throwing its shadow over North China. To our missionaries in the province of Shan-tung it brought many trials and increased labours. The effects of famine were also felt in Southern Manchuria

Famine.

TEMPLE OF LEARNING, MOUKDEN.

some time before this, and bread for the body, as well as food for the soul, had to be supplied by the missionaries to many; but so great at that time was the distrust of the foreigner, that Mr. Macintyre found in some instances that the people preferred to die rather than receive help at his hand. But in the majority of cases the kindly aid given proved powerful in removing mis-

apprehensions, and did much to change the way in which the dreaded tenets of the foreigner were regarded, and thus proved to be a key used by God to unlock hearts.

Persecution.

After some months' residence in Moukden, during 1877, Mr. Ross went to Newchwang, leaving Wang in charge. He found on his return, a month or two later, that Wang had been very badly treated by a band of young men, who went daily to the preaching chapel to revile him, and made such an uproar that no respectable people could attend. Though order was restored when Mr. Ross appeared, the daily arguing went on, and little way seemed to be gained. But one day a man came forward from behind the crowd, and said, "I have come here daily for half a month to search out the fault of this foreigner. I have come with questions to puzzle him. I have silenced Mr. Wang there, but the foreigner has beaten me. He is stronger than I; yes, he is stronger than all of us.

Confession.

He is right, and right is stronger than might. Look at him there," turning to Mr. Ross, "any two of us could overcome him,—we could bind him, and I tell you I would be among the foremost in taking his life, if I had found he had come for improper purposes; but he has not given me the chance of finding fault with him. He has right on his side,—right is stronger than I." Then, turning again to Mr. Ross, he said, "You have taught me a great deal. I have read much during my thirty-nine years' life; you are younger than I, but you have shed light on much that I inquired for in vain. I came in order to show you ignorant, I have borrowed your light on the most important subjects; I have seen too much light—too much light." What joy this brought to Mr. Ross, to

find that among hearers who had seemed so hopeless one at least had been touched.

During the year 1878 the membership in Moukden more than doubled itself. Among the twenty-six new members was an old man of seventy, a retired master-joiner with little learning, but whose grasp of the truth may be gauged from his fearless avowal: "Though they drag me with cart ropes, they shall not pull me away from my Saviour Jesus." Writing of this little band of converts, Mr. Ross was able to report that there was not a man among them ashamed of Jesus, not one who was not ready to give a reason for the hope that inspired him, even when it brought down revilings on his head. What wonder that the Church grew when such as these composed its membership! The preaching chapel, which up to this time was a rickety old house in a side street, was removed to better premises in one of the busiest streets, and this gave a great impetus to the work. Daily preaching went on from 3 to 8 P.M., after which the members assembled for worship. With so much to encourage, our missionaries had to pass through dark as well as bright experiences. Many who seemed eager to enter the Kingdom fell away during times of probation, while one or two who had been baptized, proved by after conduct that they had only a name to live.

Increase of members.

Mr. Ross arrived home on furlough in 1879, leaving the work in Moukden under Wang's care. Mr. Macintyre having charge of the ever-increasing work in the southern district, Mr. Ross asked him to spare himself the supervision of the distant Moukden station, more particularly as he had full confidence in Wang, and desired to test his powers. The

Wang in charge.

year's report of sixteen baptisms showed that this confidence was not misplaced; and it is cheering to note that Wang had been greatly helped by the volunteer labours of two or three of the members, who zealously preached during their leisure hours. About this time two missionaries of the China Inland Mission visited Moukden. One of these, Mr. Pigott, gave the following testimony regarding the good work done there. After speaking of worship with the Christians, he says: "How pleasant, after many days amongst the heathen, to find those who love and serve our Master, — the precious fruit of a brother's toil. It is a sight full of bright hope and cheer to us in our labours."

Shortly after this visit, Mr. Macintyre went to Moukden to see how things were progressing. He found eight converts waiting for baptism, two of whom were women who had been brought to Christ by their husbands. He was much encouraged by the manner in which the little flock had stood firm, left alone as they had been, and felt that a future bright with promise was dawning for Moukden, and that it was pre-eminently the place to establish a strong mission which would tell over the length and the breadth of the province. When it is remembered that in many places in conservative China it has taken years to make any impression, it is the more remarkable that the gospel plough should have made such an impression so quickly on the virgin soil of heathenism in Moukden, the intellectual as well as the governmental centre of Manchuria. The wind of the Spirit bloweth where it listeth, and to God be all the glory; but the warm thanks of the home Church are due to our pioneer missionaries for the wise and far-seeing lines on which the work was founded and carried on.

Progress.

The clamant needs of our Chinese Mission having again been laid on the heart of the Church, through Mr. Ross's voice and his colleague's pen, it was decided to send four additional missionaries. Ere long, in answer to the prayers of God's people, these missionaries were forthcoming: the Rev. Alexander Westwater and Dr. A. M. Westwater being appointed for the Chefoo district, and the Rev. James Webster and Dr. Christie for Manchuria. Before these missionaries and their wives sailed for China, Mr. Ross, who had married again, returned to Manchuria with his wife. Miss Pritty, who went out under the auspices of the newly-formed Zenana Mission of our Church, followed them in the autumn of the same year.

Increase of staff.

When Mr. Ross reached Moukden, he found that the influence of the gospel was being rapidly extended by the converts. He was grieved, however, to find that antipathy to the foreigner was by no means dead, and that active hatred was still shown to the members. Three printers had been dismissed from their employment because of their Christianity, four shoemakers had been treated in like manner, while others had had to undergo other forms of suffering for conscience' sake; but few appeared to have wavered, or had any hesitation as to their duty. As soon as it was practicable, Mr. and Mrs. Ross left Newchwang for permanent residence in Moukden, Miss Pritty accompanying them. From the first it was clearly made evident that, though the work among women might be hard and uphill, and hedged in with many difficulties, there was a wide sphere open in this direction. Only a few days after arrival, about a dozen Chinese ladies called to bid Mrs. Ross and Miss Pritty welcome to Moukden, and they were warmly

Steadfastness of converts.

invited to visit each of the families represented by their visitors.

There being now three evangelists in Moukden, another city chapel was opened in a main thoroughfare, where, as in the chapel in the west suburb, daily preaching went on with blessed results. A little chapel behind the public one was fitted up, and there public worship was conducted on Sabbaths with the members. The converts from the commencement had been encouraged to manage their own affairs, and not lean on the foreign missionary; and the stage having now arrived for the appointment of deacons, three were chosen for the office by ballot. The members' choice fell on the three evangelists, Liu, Chun, and Hsü. The scene in setting apart these deacons must have been impressive. Liu's heart was so full that he could only express himself in prayer; while Hsü in a few earnest words thanked the members for their confidence in him, and asked for their prayers to help him in his work.

Deacons appointed.

Some time before this, Mr. Macintyre had married Miss Catherine Ross, and he and his wife paid periodical visits to the various southern stations. New and endless opportunities for extending the work were opening before Mr. Macintyre, and he longed to follow the Hand which was beckoning him forward. Work had been begun in the city of Hai-cheng; and, though it was not found to be a hopeful sphere in itself, the many villages of which it forms a centre offered many attractions and demanded new efforts.

Hai-cheng.

Shortly after Mr. Ross's return it was decided to open a new station in Liao-yang, an important city forty miles

south-west of Moukden, which had been the capital of Manchuria up to the middle of the seventeenth century.

Liao-yang.

Standing as it does in the midst of a richly productive plain, Liao-yang is a busy centre of influence for a wide area; its population numbers about 80,000. Wang was sent from Moukden to begin

PAGODA IN LIAO-YANG.

work in this city, and hard was the battle he was called on to wage. Every indignity was offered to him, and all sorts of measures were adopted to drive him away, but Wang was ever ready to do or dare for Jesus' sake. "Think you," he would say to his revilers, "I would consent, for the paltry sum I receive from the

foreigner, to stand here day after day to be vilified and taunted by you as a traitor to my country, a demon's slave, and such other names as your anger invents. I am no follower of the foreigner; I follow the doctrine which the foreigner has brought. The foreigner has given me the truth of heaven, and that truth I must follow. Let the foreigner depart; we have the Bible, so we know the truth, and we will teach and repeat it if there be no foreigners in the land."

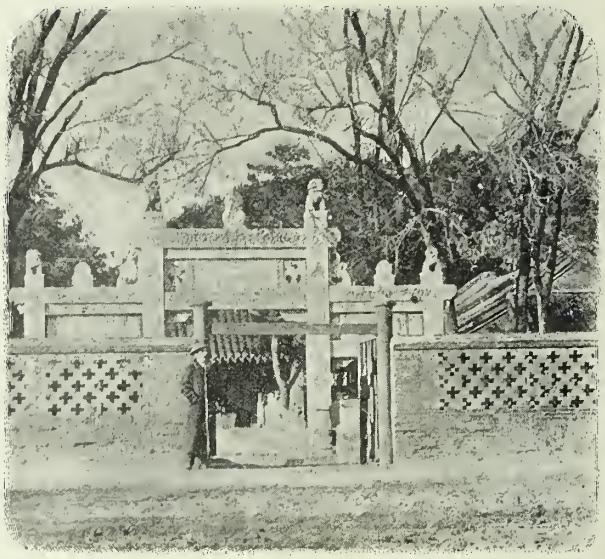
Wang had been sent to rent a chapel, but every attempt ended in disappointment. God, however, had been preparing the way for His messenger, when, months before, Wang told the story of salvation in a wayside inn to one who was well known in Liao-yang. This man had received Christ, and, being deeply interested, he helped Wang to secure a house in the main street, where he could preach. The disturbance he was subjected to, however, became so trying, that at last an appeal had to be made to the magistrate. The hearts of rulers are in the King's hands, and immediately a favourable proclamation was issued. This greatly improved matters for Wang, and within a year he had the joy of several inquirers coming to him secretly, two of whom were afterwards baptized. How refreshing it must have been for the weary worker to revisit Moukden at this time, and sit down at the Lord's Table with the fifty members there, not a few of whom he had been the means of leading from darkness into light. "Not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts."

Wang begins work.

Persecution continued in Liao-yang for several years; but it may be well to record here that, six years after the commencement of work, the baptismal roll numbered fifty names. A good

Baptisms.

many of these belonged to the merchant class, for whom it is very hard to profess Christ and at the same time carry on business in a heathen city. It could be said of this early band of converts that not one had ever been, or ever looked to be, in the pay of the Mission.



CHAPTER V

THE GOSPEL THE POWER OF GOD

THE year 1884 saw a marked development in the Mission. Not only was that powerful handmaid of the gospel, a Medical Mission, established in Moukden, but the good seed of the Word was carried into what proved to be fruitful soil in the districts beyond; and centres of light, scattered over a wide area, were thus formed. Much of this was done by the natives themselves. Moukden being a great business centre, country people are constantly coming and going. Many of these found their way into the preaching chapels; some were interested and went again and again, till they had grasped something of the beauty and joy of the truth. Then they bore the tidings back with them to their distant homes, for one of the most hopeful features of the Mission has ever been that the majority of those who receive the truth are eager to impart it to others. Beautiful indeed have been the feet of these Manchurian converts in the far-off valleys of their native land, who have done so much to prepare the way of the gospel chariot, and who have so abundantly proved that the gospel is still the power of God unto salvation!

How the gospel spreads.

After taking a journey to the various stations to see

the country and better understand its people and needs, Mr. Webster took up work at Newehwang, while Mr. Macintyre, after ten years' residence in China, came home for a well-earned furlough. On his return, he and Mr. Webster spent a considerable time in itinerating work among the valleys to the east. This was felt to be a region instinct with hope. The higher pressure incident to the lives of those who lived in and near the mercantile centres was unknown in the quiet village life of these valleys, and once superstition was overcome, a congenial soil was found for the spread of the truth. A long line of interesting stations was thus established in the southern district, ending in Chin-tsai-kou, 300 miles from Newchwang, where at this time there was an infant church of three believers.

Itinerating.

The blessing of God having been so abundantly poured out on the Manchuria Mission, and it being clearly seen that with wider opportunities came heavier responsibilities to extend the work, the Mission Board had been for some time considering the advisability of concentrating the whole work of the China Mission in Manchuria. In 1885, having gained the consent of the Synod and the concurrence of the missionaries, it was decided to take this step. With other Missionary Societies at work, Shan-tung had many more missionaries in proportion to its population than Manchuria, and the greater needs, as well as the hopeful aspects of this vast field, were the chief grounds on which the decision was based. Accordingly, during the following year, the Rev. Alexander Westwater and Dr. Westwater were transferred to Manchuria. Dr. Williamson, though still retaining his connection with our Church, took up his residence in Shanghai, in order

Concentration.

that he might carry on the production and circulation of a Christian literature for China, a work which lay very near his heart, and for which he was eminently qualified. He carried on his work at a busy spot close by the native shipping, where strangers congregate, and had thus opportunity of circulating Christian books far and wide. One of the best known of the Chinese books which he wrote is *The Life of Jesus*; while another, the *Chinese Girls' Classic*, written by Mrs. Williamson, has proved a valuable text-book in mission schools for girls.

Mrs. Williamson, who was closely identified with her husband's work, and who had done a great deal for the welfare of the women around Chefoo, died in the autumn of 1886. In 1890 a Missionary Conference was held at Shanghai, in which Dr. Williamson took a deep interest. After its close, with a heart full of thanksgiving for the great things God had wrought for China, which had been so abundantly shown by this Conference, he went to Chefoo for rest and change, and there he fell on sleep, and was laid to rest on the quiet hillside above the town, where for long his commanding figure and great warm heart will be remembered by many for whose sake and the gospel's he spent his strength.

Death of Dr. Williamson.

During this period the progress made in Manchuria was such as to amply justify the wisdom of the policy of concentration. We are most anxious that the picture presented of the Mission should in no respects be overdrawn, but we search in vain at this time for signs to present except those denoting advance. Shadows there must have been athwart the horizon of hope, but these serve only to bring into stronger relief the brightness of the outlook. Not only were there being

added to the Church daily such as should be saved, but the members were growing in the Christian life, and realising more their responsibilities and privileges in the things concerning the Kingdom. This was shown among other ways by their liberality: one of the members at Newchwang supported an evangelist for a year entirely at his own expense; while another in the interior supported a school, besides being one of a band of twenty who undertook to support an evangelist.

Liberality of converts.

The story of Chang of Newchwang shows the grit of these Chinese converts. At his own expense he went to Liao-yang to help the evangelists there, and Mr. Webster hoped on his return that he might give himself entirely to the work of an evangelist, but he resolutely refused to become one of the staff of paid evangelists, the reasons he gave being as follows: "When I go down to preach in the native town, I sometimes hear such remarks as these—'How much does he get from the foreigner?' And I see they listen with respect when I tell them that I preach this doctrine because I believe it, and the foreigner does not give me a penny. I see in my book that Paul preached, working with his own hands, and if the pastor has no objection, I wish to do likewise."

Chang of Newchwang.

Of the 104 members baptized in Moukden and Liao-yang during 1885, all, with the exception of two women, had been led to Christ through native agency. Thus it was little wonder that the extended employment of natives was a matter that lay very near Mr. Ross's heart, and a Theological Class was begun in Moukden which was open to others besides preachers. A severe loss befell the Mission during the year in the death

of two preachers, Wang and Hsü, the oldest and the youngest of the evangelists. Wang, better known as Old Wang, was, as we have seen, the fearless pioneer of Christian work at Moukden and Liao-yang. The character and work of these two men is best described in Mr. Ross's own words: "To the keen vision and calm, dauntless courage of Hsü I looked for the instrument which, by careful and kindly guidance, would build up and consolidate into a shapely edifice, the numerous living stones made alive by the instrumentality of the intensely earnest, zealous, warm-hearted, and fiery Wang. He whose is the work has judged otherwise, and has removed my ablest lieutenants from my side. More than the lack of any human aid do I feel the want which these blanks have made. Resignation to His will who gave and blessed them must be mine over their newly-closed graves, and thankfulness for the rich fruits left behind them. One grand assurance gleams out of the darkness. The light of life so successfully set on high by them is rapidly spreading, and before many years are over, few men in Manchuria will remain wholly ignorant of the message of salvation. They are at rest from their labours, but their works will abundantly follow them."

Death of Wang and Hsü.

Mr. Webster having now joined Mr. Ross in Moukden, it was decided to begin work in Tieh-ling, a walled city forty miles north of Moukden. Tieh-ling is built about a mile from the eastern bank of the river Liao, and is skirted on the west by a wide stretch of hilly country which reaches to the river Ya-lu, 300 miles distant. Its population is large, and from its position it is a growing centre of prosperity, owing not only to its easy access to river communication, but on

Tieh-ling.

account of it being on the great highway stretching from the south to Kirin and the regions beyond.

Chiao.

Chiao, a converted opium smoker, who had been led to the Great Deliverer by Old Wang, was chosen to preach the gospel in Tieh-ling. When he heard the decision, he exclaimed, "What grace, what grace!" so much did he feel the honour God was giving him in thus calling him to His service. Satan ever fights hard for his own, and the same hardships and bitter opposition that were passed through in Moukden and Liao-yang had to be endured in Tieh-ling. Premises for a chapel were hired, and patiently old Chiao proclaimed the love of Jesus to dense crowds of scoffers. At last disturbance and obloquy culminated in the wrecking of the chapel. Everything that could be broken up was destroyed, and Testaments and hymn-books were burned; and, after being roughly handled, Chiao had to withdraw from the city for a time.

Trouble in Tieh-ling.

Returning from a journey in the surrounding districts, Mr. Ross and Mr. Webster reached Tieh-ling to find this sad state of affairs. They were obliged to leave hurriedly, being followed to the city gate by an angry crowd. After some days they again went to Tieh-ling, taking up their quarters in an inn outside of the city. Chiao had by this time returned, and his joy at seeing friends was great. Passports and cards were sent to the Yamen, with a courteous request that the mandarin would grant the missionaries a private interview, but a message was sent back that he was busy, which meant that he would have nothing to do with them. However, feeling that a battle must be fought and won, and that the sooner it was over the better, both Mr. Ross and Mr. Webster went boldly to the chapel. The crowd was so great that the room

could not be used, so the door was barred, and first Mr. Webster, and afterwards Mr. Ross, preached from the window sill. They succeeded in arresting the attention of their audience, and the crowd listened with patience. In the evening they again preached to a larger and more noisy crowd.

The following morning found the missionaries again at the window. A greeting of derisive laughter was not encouraging, but some in the crowd listened to their message with evident interest. After closing, they rode quietly away, and were immediately assailed by having mud and stones hurled at them. Fortunately, they soon had a fair field before them, and rode rapidly away, thus escaping uninjured. They learned, on reaching the inn beyond the city walls, that placards had been disseminated, describing the Jesus' religion in blasphemous and shameful terms, and calling upon the people to drive the foreign religion from their midst.

Opposition subsides.

The literati were found to be the instigators, and when they were given to understand that they had gone too far, the opposition gradually subsided. On their next visit the missionaries were respectfully treated, and the little chapel was filled with orderly hearers. Old Chiao rejoiced with a great joy, and his favourite expression, "Oh, the grace of the Lord!" was uttered in jubilant tones. Very hard did he work for the salvation of those around him, and not many months had passed before Mr. Webster had the joy of baptizing eight men. Writing of the ingathering of these first-fruits, Mr. Webster says: "The busy world outside went on its way, knowing not and heeding not what was going on within. Yet the greatest thing in all the city's history had happened that day,—a thing

First baptisms.

that would be remembered when everything else was forgotten,—for the first stones in the temple of the living God had been laid that day in Tieh-ling."

During 1887 the two Moukden elders visited all the stations to the north, bearing with them the greetings

OFFICE-BEARERS OF TIEH-LING CHURCH.

of the Moukden Church. Their visit did much to revive the lukewarm and strengthen the weak of the flock. The Tieh-ling members spontaneously instituted a weekly offering, which greatly cheered the missionaries, pointing as it did to the members' growth in grace, and heralding a time when the native Church will be able to stand alone. A course had been adopted of inviting the leading members in the out-stations to visit Moukden.

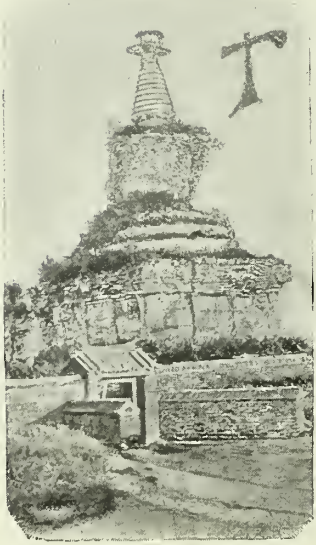
During 1887 ten of the Tieh-ling members took advantage of this opportunity. Their visit gave these men a fresh impulse, and new ideas of the Church of Christ and of their duties regarding it. They were present at the celebration of the Lord's Supper in Moukden, and, soon after they went home, earnestly requested that they should have the Communion in Tieh-ling.

First Communion.

Mr. Webster went, and he looks back upon that first Communion service in Tieh-ling as a memorable period. A time of prayer and heart-searching had preceded the service, and it was a little company, eagerly expectant of the Divine blessing, who broke bread in remembrance of their Lord, and sang together for the first time in Tieh-ling the old Communion Hymn.

CHAPTER VI

DARK DAYS AND SUNNY GLEAMS



THE autumns of 1886 and 1888 brought dire calamity in their train to many in Manchuria. Owing to an unusual autumnal rainfall in 1886, the river Liao overflowed its low banks, and, flooding the plain, swept the harvest fields bare. Whole villages were inundated by the torrent, and many of the inhabitants were drowned, while hundreds were rendered homeless. Thus, instead of the joy of harvest, there was devastation and death, while the suffering involved was rendered all the more disastrous owing to the near approach of winter. Mr. Westwater hastened to the flooded districts to distribute relief, and found the misery heartrending.

Disastrous floods.

Some of the homeless people had dug holes in the ground, which they had roofed over with millet stalks. Mr. Westwater, in order to enter these dens, had to crawl on his hands and knees. Frequently he found in them people dying of fever and starvation; many had absolutely no food; and dead and dying were huddled together.

There is no doubt that in his Christlike ministry of love to these stricken ones, Mr. Westwater laid down his own life. On his return to Moukden, fever seized him, and his strength rapidly failed. In death as in life his longing desire was that the Chinese might share his own peace and joy. He frequently prayed in Chinese that God would save and bless *Wan kuo, Wan-ren* (literally, "the myriad kingdoms and myriad peoples"). Thus passed away one who had little more than entered on his missionary career, leaving a sad blank, but also many precious memories behind. His young widow decided to remain in China and devote herself to work among the women. Her offer of service was accepted, and shortly after she began work at Hai-cheng, sustained by the sympathy and prayers of many both in China and in the home-land.

Death of Rev. A. Westwater.

The floods of 1888 were much more serious than those of 1886, and affected a larger area. In the early part of the year a long-continued drought did much damage to vegetation; then came such heavy rain that rivers and streams became swollen torrents, sweeping over the plains and submerging large districts of land. Terrible havoc was wrought in Moukden, more especially in the east suburb, where the Mission houses are situated. The news of the disaster which first reached home was as follows: "Hundreds are drowned in the immediate neighbourhood of our terrace, and hundreds more are killed by the falling of houses.

Terrible havoc.

Thousands more are rendered homeless under our very eyes, and tens of thousands have lost everything they possessed."

It was indeed a time of darkness and trouble, and our missionaries had for many a day to go forth as the deliverers of the people in their sore need. Appeals were made for funds, and a well-arranged and systematic plan of relief was organised. Very awful were the scenes which had to be witnessed, and the risks which were run by our missionaries during these dark days, but through it all they were mercifully protected and upheld. Mr. Webster calculated that a sum of six shillings would keep a family alive for a month; and when it is stated that the relief money received from all sources, and distributed by our missionaries, amounted to about £8500, it will be at once seen what incalculable benefit was rendered, and how much the practical sympathy shown must have cemented good feeling and prepared the way for the Christian's doctrine and teaching. It is not the first time that, in destroying the fruits of the earth, God has brought about the ripening of another harvest for eternity.

Relief rendered.

But these cloudy days were not without their gleams of sunshine. While Mr. Macintyre records that the characteristic of 1886 in his district in the south had been opposition, caused partly by a Taoist priest and partly by hostile Roman Catholics, he can still report progress in the number of members and advance in their Christian life. In the northern centre, another link had been added to the chain of stations by the opening up of work in Kai-yuen, a city on the main road, over twenty miles north of Tieh-ling. In the early days of the Mission, a soldier named Kuan

Kai-yuen.

was led to frequent the preaching chapel in Newchwang. Years after he was baptized in Moukden, and since then had lived in Kai-yuen, where he had bravely witnessed for Christ and been zealous in sowing the seed of the Kingdom. Thus again we see the Spirit of the Lord leading through circumstances to an open door.

Another feature which made Kai-yuen a hopeful centre, was the fact of it being a stronghold of the *Hwen Yuen*, an earnest sect of Buddhists, from whose ranks about three-fourths of the converts gathered in had been drawn. The members of this sect are vegetarians, and, while very assiduous in their worship of Buddha, are in a measure seekers after light, as may be judged by the success Christianity has had among them. The origin of this sect dates back to the Ming dynasty, about 500 years ago, and was probably a revolt from the grosser forms of heathenism, to which, as time passed by, it has reverted.

Seekers after light.

Very shortly after the establishment of work in Kai-yuen, the good influence spread. In a village not far distant the whole family of the head-man were baptized. This man heard the gospel in the Kai-yuen chapel, and went back to his village home to demolish all his idols and shrines. When he and his household received the sacred rite of baptism, the font used was a censer which had been bought for burning incense to Buddha; but before it was thus employed, the Dayspring from on high entered the home, and it was put to a very different use!

Not less interesting is the story of the beginning of work in Tai-ping-kou, a village to the north of Kai-yuen. During 1886 a blind man named Chang found his way to Moukden, in the hope that the foreign doctor, whose fame by this time had

Tai-ping-kou.

spread far and wide, might be able to restore his sight. Under Dr. Christie's care his eyesight improved slightly, but, though nothing could be done to eure it completely, the eyes of his understanding were opened, so that the long journey had been made by no means in vain. The very first time he heard the story of salvation he reeeived it as a message of good news, and before he left, he very strongly desired to be numbered among Christ's disciples through the rite of baptism. He was greatly disappointed that the missionaries considered it wiser that he should return to his home first, promising, however, to visit him as soon as practieable.

A few months later, Mr. Webster made a journey to the north, and very remarkable were the experiences which awaited him. He found that Chang, groping his way home with almost sightless eyes, had, in the inns and by the wayside, made known his new-found faith, and related the wondrous vision, as he called it, of a Saviour from sin. When at last he reached Tai-ping-kou, he began at once to tell the people of Jesus. Then he went on to other villages, preaching under the shade of the willow trees the story of redeeming love. Many thought him crazed and pitied him, others jeered him; but by and by, as they watched Chang, they saw that he was indeed a ehanged man,—old things had passed away, all things had beeome new. Then eame a division of opinion,—some sided with him and some against him, the consequence being that the whole eountryside was in an uproar. But through it all Chang went quietly on his way, praying and preaehing and singing the one hymn he knew. What a sublime pieture we have here of the power of the gospel, and of God using the weak things to confound the mighty! Only a poor weak blind man, but

What a blind man did.

when filled with the Spirit, strong to bring about a religious awakening in a wholly heathen district; for that was what Chang had done. Several were already earnest believers, while numbers were inquiring about the Jesus' doctrine.

Chang's joy was great when he met Mr. Webster. Though his face was radiant, his voice quivered with emotion as he said, "O pastor! you promised, and I always said you would come." Two days afterwards, when the candidates had been examined, Mr. Webster, in a crowded room, baptized nine men, headed by their blind guide. Of these, Mr. Webster wrote: "What pleased me most was, not the amount of their knowledge, as *their way of knowing*. Without art, with an utter absence of technicalities, each in his own way declared his faith in God the Father and in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord." Many more have been baptized since then, for this was but the beginning of a movement which had, as we have seen, God's signal blessing resting on it from the first. Chang, having become quite blind, was sent to Pekin to be under Mr. Murray's care. Taught by Mr. Murray's system for the blind, he returned home able to read fluently, and continues to be an increasing power for good among his fellow-countrymen.

Chang taught to read.

In the spring of 1888 the Mission staff was augmented by the arrival of the Rev. James A. Wylie. From the first, Mr. Wylie's missionary career was marked by faithful, earnest labour. After he had been for a time in Newchwang and Moukden, he took up residence in Liao-yang. Absorbing though his work was in that busy centre, he yet found time to make extensive itinerating tours, and gathered not a little valuable information regarding the

Rev. James A. Wylie.

geography and the conditions of life in distant districts of the country.

The Rev. George Douglas and the Rev. Daniel T. Robertson arrived in Manchuria towards the close of 1890. In November of the following year Mr. Douglas went to Liao-yang, while Mr. Robertson, as will be seen later, became one of our pioneers in the north. In April 1891 the Rev. James W. Inglis and his sister, Miss Eliza Inglis, reached Manchuria, and were appointed to Moukden.

Additional appointment.

CHAPTER VII

MEDICAL MISSION WORK

EDICAL Mission work has not only proved rich in spiritual results in Manchuria, but it has been most valuable in removing prejudices, and gaining the friendship of the upper classes and Government officials. Mandarins who would not enter a preaching chapel are often glad to avail themselves of the skill of the medical missionary, and thus they have an opportunity of hearing the truth. Dr. Christie opened a dispensary in Moukden in 1883, and was very quickly drawn into most engrossing work. Not only did the patients hear the Word of life, but a short statement of the truth, in leaflet form, was given to each to carry home as silent messengers, while they were encouraged to buy portions of Scripture and other Christian books and tracts. It was not long before Dr. Christie's heart was cheered by seeing the first-fruits of his labours, in five men being received into the Church by baptism. One of these was a literary man, whose scholarship, combined with his earnestness, made him a power for good among his fellow-countrymen.

Removes prejudices.

The Children's New Year Offering for 1886 was devoted to the erection of a new hospital in Moukden, which was opened at the close of the following year.

Moukden hospital.

Dr. Christie had succeeded in aequiring a good site elose to the Mission houses, on the out skirts of the east suburb. The hospital is built at the end of what is called the Terrace; in front is a river, with a plain beyond, while to the back rise the eastern hills. Very wisely, all the houses eonneeted with the Mission are built externally

MOUKDEN HOSPITAL.

on the plan of Chinese architecture: all are of one storey, and everything has been done to avoid exciting prejudice in the minds of the natives. The hospital is also quite Chinese outwardly, but the accommodation and internal arrangements are admirably suited for indoor and outdoor medical work.

Opening ceremony.

The opening ceremony was performed by the President of the Board of War, a high Chinese official, while a number of leading mandarins were present. In the afternoon a large

and enthusiastic meeting of the church members was held in the waiting-room of the hospital, and earnest hopes were expressed that, with the inauguration of the new building, an impetus would be given to medical mission work throughout the province. These hopes have been largely fulfilled; for, with confidence more firmly established, and a greater willingness to enter the hospital and submit to surgical treatment, each succeeding year has seen the work increase.

Successful operations leading to recovery in cases which seemed hopeless, often appear miraculous in Chinese eyes. One man was brought to Dr. Christie whose coffin was already prepared, and arrangements made for his funeral. He was successfully treated, and made a good recovery: it is little wonder that such as he should sound the doctor's praises, and induce others to benefit from his skill. As it has been seen already in blind Chang's case, patients carried with them to their homes the message of salvation, and became light-bearers to many a remote village and hamlet. None left the hospital without learning something of the true God and salvation through Christ; while the regular instruction imparted, and the daily contact with Christians, frequently produced a lasting impression. Dr. Christie, after a time, found it advisable to open a class for inquirers, a number of whom soon applied for baptism.

Effect of medical work.

In this connection we may well note the blessing that has followed the earnest labours of Chang Lin, the hospital evangelist, who, by his testimony and efforts, had been the means of turning not a few from idols to serve the living God. Though not much of a scholar, his knowledge of the

Hospital evangelist.

Bible enabled him to give clear expositions of the gospel, and made him successful in personal dealing with the patients. Many a weary sufferer has been comforted and pointed to the Great Soul-healer by Chang.

From an early period in the Mission, Medical Classes were instituted in Moukden for the training of assistants, a work which was further developed when better accommodation was provided. While discouragements have not been wanting, Dr. Christie has also had much to cheer him in this branch of work. Some, who did well for a time, fell away, but others have remained steadfast, and have received a good knowledge of medicine and surgery, and have been thus a great help to Dr. Christie in his arduous labours.

Medical Classes.

After Dr. Christie's return from furlough in 1891, six Christian young men were enrolled as students under a five years' course of study. These students dispense medicine to the out-patients, and each takes charge of a ward, relieving the doctor of a good deal of the dressing, bandaging, etc. Many tablets adorn the hospital walls, presents from the patients, who in this Chinese fashion display their gratitude for benefit received. Subscriptions in money are also sometimes given; and it is encouraging that these are on the increase, even the very poor giving a few hundred cash, amounting to one or two pence.

In 1889 the medical staff was increased by the appointment of Dr. Thomas M. Young, who, on arrival with his wife in Manchuria, took up residence in Moukden, and superintended the medical work there during Dr. Christie's absence. In the autumn of 1890 a grievous bereavement befell Dr. Young in the death of his wife, who

Death of Mrs. Young and Mrs. Christie.

had endeared herself to all by the sweetness of her Christian character and the beauty of her consecrated life. A like sorrow also befell Dr. Christie while in Scotland, his wife dying in 1891.

The Synod of 1891 having agreed that medical missionaries should be ordained or designated to missionary service, and be thus able to dispense ordinances in the foreign field, the first service of this kind took place in Rosehall Church, Edinburgh, when Dr. Christie, about to set sail again for Manchuria, was in this way set apart for missionary service.

During the winter of 1887, Dr. Westwater paid two visits to Liao-yang, and treated so many sick people in the mission chapel there, as to prove conclusively the impossibility of trying to meet the requirements of a large city through means of a medicine chest and an occasional visit. An attempt was made to rent a house as a temporary dispensary, but without success, the people being still hostile to the settlement of any missionary in their midst. It was therefore agreed that Dr. Westwater should take up his residence in Hai-cheng; and his settling there, with the establishment of a hospital and dispensary, was accomplished without any difficulty. Very soon a few successful operations produced a great impression, and sick and suffering ones eagerly sought help. In Hai-cheng there are over sixty opium shops and dens, and the disastrous results are seen and felt on every hand. The need for an opium refuge was thus quickly felt by Dr. Westwater, in order to help those who were making sincere and strenuous efforts to free themselves from the thraldom of this vice, and soon one was fitted up. A very encouraging incident occurred in this connection: a native doctor, who had smoked opium

Medical Mission in Hai-cheng.

for twenty years, becoming interested in Christianity, joined the Medical Mission staff as an unpaid voluntary worker, and set apart a room in his compound in order that preaching might be regularly conducted.

While at Hai-cheng, Dr. Westwater continued to visit Liao-yang, and after a time premises were secured, which enabled the work to be carried on more satisfactorily. The dire effects of the famine had been keenly felt in the surrounding neighbourhood, and Dr. Westwater found that the distribution of famine relief, which had been systematically carried through, proved a great help to the introduction of mission work. It was computed that 20,000 persons had received help in the villages lying to the north of Liao-yang. Dr. Westwater had visited 4000 homes in connection with the relief work, and had thus been brought into close contact with the life of the people. The long-continued opposition began to give way, and a favourable change in the attitude of all classes took place; and when the dispensary was opened, the little waiting-room was crowded with over a hundred patients. Many indications of appreciation and gratitude were received. Among these was the presentation to Dr. Westwater of a complimentary umbrella, with the names of 40 villages and 300 subscribers attached. Grateful hearts prove fertile soil for the sowing of the good seed, and a way is thus prepared for the healing touch of the Divine Master.

Dispensary opened in Liao-yang.

The Children's New Year Offering for 1891 was devoted to *The restoring of the mission houses injured by recent floods in Moukden, and the erection of a hospital in Liao-yang.* After long searching for a site for a hospital had proved unavailing, and just when Dr. Westwater was giving up the quest as hopeless for the time being,

a remarkable combination of providential circumstances enabled him to obtain a most eligible piece of ground, situated within the city wall, and close to one of the principal gates. It was looked upon as a significant fact, both by the missionaries and native Christians, that this site was part of the "glebe" of an ancient temple. All felt that, in the acquisition of this ground, the Lord was working with them, and they were filled with fresh courage in seeking to raise the standard of the Cross in this great heathen city. It is interesting to add, that the hospital rests on a solid foundation composed of the stones of the ancient temple itself; and the great bell, which for over 300 years had accompanied the chanting of the Buddhist liturgy, now hangs in the hospital tower, and every morning its deep tones are heard all over the city, calling the patients to the worship of the one true God.

Hospital site.

The erection of the hospital and other necessary mission buildings at Liao-yang entailed much oversight and labour, and in 1891 Dr. and Mrs. Westwater removed to that city, where Mr. Wylie was already located, leaving Mr. Macintyre to hold the fort in Hai-cheng. The damage to mission property in Moukden through the flood proved so extensive, that nearly all the Children's Offering was required for its restoration, so that little was forthcoming from that source for the building of the Liao-yang hospital. However, a warm friend of missions, Mr. J. T. Morton, London, placed a handsome sum at the disposal of the Mission Board, which was used for this purpose, and soon the results were seen in a beautiful and commodious hospital. It was formally opened, in May 1892, by Mr. Duncan M'Laren, who was then on a visit to Manchuria. Turning the key in the main entrance, Mr.

Hospital erected.

M'Laren said, "I open this hospital in the name of Jesus, for the preaching of the gospel and the healing of the sick."

The opening ceremony was accompanied by an imposing spectacle. The compound was crowded with men bearing flags and curious devices on poles, strange music was discoursed, and numbers of crackers were fired. A tablet, with the three Chinese characters

LIAO-YANG HOSPITAL.

meaning "Free Healing Hall," and which had been previously paraded through the town, was put up above the door, while other two tablets were suspended on the pillars of the verandah.

Hospital opened.

A service was then held in the large waiting-room, at which some of the city mandarins were present. Hearty praise and prayer were offered to the loving Father for His goodness. Chang, the dispenser, spoke of the benefits which the preaching of the "Jesus' doctrine" and the healing of the sick had brought to the native Church; nor were those in

the far-off home Church forgotten, greetings and thanks being sent to them.

A very interesting occurrence took place in Liao-yang in 1893. Some of the literati rented a house to use as a lecture hall, in which to explain to the people the "Sacred Edict," one of the Chinese classics. They did all they could to induce Chang, Dr. Westwater's dispenser, to act as their lecturer, by promise of large remuneration. Failing in this, and being somewhat discouraged in other ways, some withdrew, those who remained consulted together, and eventually called on Dr. Westwater, and proposed to transfer the hall and furniture to the Mission as a preaching chapel. Thus it marvellously came to pass that men who did not themselves believe the gospel provided a building in which it could be proclaimed to others. With glad heart Mr. Wylie wrote regarding this, and at the same time related that in the village of Fang-kang-pu, not far from Liao-yang, a place of worship had been erected mainly by the members there. This village had suffered greatly from the floods of 1888, which did not spare the village temple. Nothing was done to repair it, and the gods of clay lie in a confused heap, a few yards from the spot where the villagers have erected a building in which to worship the one true God.

Preaching chapel provided by non-Christians.

The medical missionaries made long and numerous journeys into the country, and found their medicine chests a powerful influence in disarming suspicion and facilitating mission work. The following little incident serves to illustrate this. A heathen crowd had gathered round Mr. Webster one night in an inn, and began discussing about the foreign stranger who had come into their midst. They were not slow in displaying

distrust of him; but just then a man eame in, who at onee went up to Mr. Webster in a frank, fearless way. He then turned to the others, who seemed greatly amazed at his conduct, and said, "Don't you know the foreign gentleman? He is a friend of Dr. Westwater's, who has a hospital for the siek, where the blind see, the lame walk, the deaf hear, and all are eounselled to virtue." A whole ehorus of *Ai yahs* showed that his testimony to the good work of the doetor had dispelled all their suspieion.

Testimony in favour of Medical Mission.

Another mueh-needed addition to the medieal staff was made in the appointment of Dr. David C. Gray in 1892. Shortly after his arrival in Manchuria, Dr. Gray was stationed at Liao-yang, and his presenee enabled Dr. and Mrs. Westwater to return home for a mueh-needed rest.

Dr. D. C. Gray.

CHAPTER VIII

WORK AMONG THE WOMEN

IT has been said that the chief test of the civilisation of a people lies in its treatment of woman; and, weighed in this balance, the boasted civilisation of China is found to be woefully wanting. For though woman in China is on a higher level than in many other heathen lands, and though she is not degraded, she is, as a high authority puts it, distinctly dethroned. One fact alone attests this: China is a land in which education is greatly appreciated, and where there is a thorough system — according to Chinese ideas — open to boys, and yet there is no provision made for educating girls. The vast majority of the millions of women in China cannot read one character of their own language. The young Chinese wife does not enter a house of her own as mistress, but has to be content with a subordinate position in her husband's home, and be ever at the beck and call of her mother-in-law. She does not appear in public with her husband, nor is it the custom for her to eat with him; thus the marriage tie brings with it no idea of companionship on terms of equality. Though for a considerable portion of her life considered of little account, the rolling years usually bring to the Chinawoman

Woman's position in China.

influence and power; and when her sons take home their wives, her day of ruling comes, and her dominion extends as her descendants increase. Thus the importance of mission work among the women and girls can hardly be overestimated. Many a *lau-tai-tai*, or "venerable grandmother," with her strong individuality

GROUP OF MANCHU WOMEN.

and tenacity of purpose, is building up barriers against the entrance of the truth into her family circle. How all-important that such as she should be reached, and won over to the cause of righteousness!

The women of China, in a great measure, must be reached through women's agency. This fact was early realised by our missionaries in Manchuria. The conditions, however, which attended pioneer work in the interior,

made it inexpedient for even the missionaries' wives to leave the port in the first days of the mission; but by and by, when curiosity about the foreigner had in a measure abated, and prejudice had been overcome, a door was opened. Miss Pritty, as already stated, was the first Zenana missionary appointed to enter on work in Manchuria. She took up residence in Moukden in 1882, and, as soon as possible, a boarding-school for girls was begun. Miss Pritty continued to work as one of our missionaries till 1886, when she married the Rev. Thomas Fulton of the Irish Presbyterian Mission. After Miss Pritty left, the school was superintended by Mrs. Ross and Mrs. Webster. For several years the pupils numbered about fifteen girls, but in 1888 twenty-seven were admitted. This increase was largely owing to the famine, which rendered many children homeless; and it was found necessary to open two small orphanages, one for boys and one for girls, the following year. The benefits accruing from the boarding-school have been widely felt. Girls have been trained to read within its walls, and, becoming familiar with Christian truth, have been able in not a few instances to do something to dispel the darkness around their homes. It is a work which in the future ought to be greatly developed, fraught as it is with bright promise.

First missionary to women.

Girls' boarding-school.

In the autumn of 1890 two additional missionaries set sail for Manchuria,—Miss Struthers and Miss Wilson. Both were appointed to go to Moukden, but, unfortunately, Miss Wilson's health broke down almost immediately, and she was obliged to resign. Miss Struthers resigned in 1891, but remains in Manchuria as the wife of the Rev. George Douglas. Another

appointment was made in 1891, when Miss Inglis accompanied her brother to Moukden. She also married, becoming in the following year the wife of Dr. Christie.

Medical work among women.

Though no lady doctor has as yet gone to Manchuria, medical work among women has been carried on. Dr. Christie has not found the same difficulty in reaching women as has been experienced in many parts of China proper. He has devoted two days in the week to women, when a large number gather in the waiting-room of the men's hospital. A women's hospital being found indispensable for the treatment of serious cases, temporary premises were secured in 1892 in a compound quite distinct from the men's hospital. In this department of work, Mrs. Christie has assisted her husband; and with the help of Mrs. Wang, the matron, a great deal of good work has been done. The first patient admitted to the little hospital was a Mongol woman, who had travelled many a weary *li* to receive sight. Many others have been drawn from distant parts of the country, and have returned home to proclaim what they have seen and heard.

Classes for women.

In addition to the boarding-school and the medical work for women, classes for the Christian women have been held in Moukden, principally taught by Mr. Ross. Systematic training in Bible knowledge was given to all who could be gathered together, and then they were sent home to impart to others what they themselves had learned. Village schools for girls have been started in various districts, both in the north and in the south. An extension of work in this direction is much to be desired, and efforts are being made for the establishment of these schools in all places where there is a Christian community.

As already recorded, Mrs. Alexander Westwater, after her husband's death, began work in Hai-cheng. She devoted much of her time while there to visiting the women in and around the city. A Bible-class and prayer meeting proved fruitful in good results, and a weekly meeting in a neighbouring village was fairly attended. Women's work from the beginning was laid down on excellent lines in Liao-yang, and soon hopeful results were apparent. When Dr. and Mrs. Westwater settled in Liao-yang, the latter took up and carried on work among the women. The Christian instruction in the girls' school, and the services for the women members of the church, were conducted by her, and she had the joy of seeing the light of life break on more than one dark soul. A woman thus described this change one day: "We used to feel as if we were walking in the dark; we knew that we must die some day, but we did not know where we were going. Now we are walking in the light, and know that when we die we are going to the heavenly home which Jesus has prepared for us, and we have nothing to fear."

Work in Liao-yang.

A Training Home for Bible-women and a small hospital for women having been erected, Mr. Ross opened this building in November 1892. By this time Mrs. Alexander Westwater, who had been home on furlough, returned, and took up her residence at Liao-yang. With her came a newly-appointed missionary, Miss Sinclair. The training of four Bible-women was begun at once by Mrs. Alexander Westwater, one of the first students being sent from Moukden. During the first ten months, class instruction was given daily; latterly it was limited to three days a week, the women going out on the other

Training of Bible-women.

days with Mrs. Westwater to visit. This was found to work well, as it gave the students confidence in speaking to others, and they soon had more invitations to visit and teach than they could overtake. Sunday services were held in the new class-room, when forty to fifty, including the school girls, attended. An inquirers' class was also held once a week, fourteen of the number being applicants for baptism.

Women's hospital.

Interesting work had also been begun in connection with the women's hospital, when the war-clouds began to gather, and all the missionaries were obliged to leave Liao-yang. In 1895, Miss Sinclair resigned, and became the wife of Dr. D. C. Gray. Shortly before, Mrs. Westwater married Dr. Gordon, one of the Irish Presbyterian missionaries in Manchuria. Thus Liao-yang, as well as Moukden, was now left without any lady-worker except the missionaries' wives.

Village women.

The village women, and those belonging to the working classes, are very ignorant. Their minds are dull and vacant, not because they are deficient in ability, but because their faculties have not been exercised. Frequently a simple question will be met with the answer, accompanied by a shake of the head, "How can I tell, I am only a woman!" But when the Spirit of the Lord lays hold on such as these, they become fearless, and, like the men, are ready to give a reason for the hopes they cherish. The story of Widow Kao illustrates this. A poor man without home or earthly friends, but who had found the Friend of sinners, went to lodge with this woman in Tieh-ling. Through his influence Mrs. Kao was induced to frequent the chapel, and soon became a believer. On account of her adherence to Christianity,

she suffered a good deal of persecution, her own daughters becoming her persistent opponents. Some time after her conversion, the man from whom she had first heard the message of salvation died suddenly, and her daughters used his death as an argument to try and get their mother to give up the strange doctrine which had bewitched her, as they described her condition. "You see," they said, "this man was a Christian, and he has died; you had better take care lest you die too." "Well," replied their mother, "the doctrine about Jesus, which you urge me to deny, has made me better prepared and more willing to die than I was before, and I don't see why I should give it up."

Story of Mrs. Kao.

It is still the day of small things in regard to women's work in Manchuria. Women form but a small proportion of the membership of the Church, and many of those who have entered the fold need instruction and guiding help. It is clear that this paramount duty can best be attained by the training of earnest Christian women, and sending them out as the instructors and soul-winners of their countrywomen; for it is true of the women as of the men, that a native agency well directed is the channel which God most richly blesses. In 1892, Mr. Ross wrote from Moukden: "The work here awaiting the true-hearted worker is great and pressing"; and there is every reason to hope that, when the unrest occasioned by war has subsided, even a wider door of entrance than before will be opened up.

The work which waits.

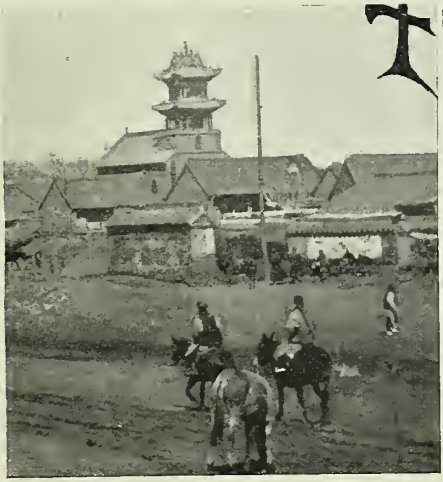
Four lady missionaries are ready to enter, two of whom are fully qualified doctors,—Dr. Kate K. Paton and Dr. Mary C. Horner; and it is expected that their knowledge of medicine

Recent appointments.

will unlock many a hitherto elosed door, and open a way for the glad tidings to reaeh the women among the higher ranks of soeiety. The other two ladies, Miss Jones and Miss Davidson, will find great opportunities also awaiting them. Not only is there the aggressive work among the heathen, and the very important work among the ehildren, but there are now hundreds of women longing to be trained in the things pertaining to the Kingdom. Many of these are simple souls who have caught a glimpse of the beauty of the King, and have turned their faees Zionwards; but the pilgrim way is beset for them with manifold temptations, and the Word of life is a sealed book to them, beeause they eannot read. How great is their need of strengthening and eneouraging, and how solemn the duty which lies on the home Chureh, to seek by prayer and every effort possible, that sueh as these shall not fall from grace, but be helped to grow "unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."

CHAPTER IX

STRENGTHENING THE STAKES



MOUKDEN CHURCH.

THE chapel in Moukden in which the Sabbath services were held, and which was hallowed by sacred memories as the birthplace of many a soul, had by 1889 become quite insufficient to accommodate the members. The erection of a new church was therefore felt to be indispensable. The students of our Church took up the pressing need, and raised the greater part of the necessary funds to build a handsome church,—the members themselves doing what they could to help its erection, by providing bricks and

Erection of Moukden church.

giving a large amount of labour. The church is situated in the east suburb close to the city wall. Everything about the exterior is thoroughly Chinese, and has been wisely planned to meet the ideas of Chinese etiquette, and make for the things regarding peace. For instance, it has communication at front and back with parallel streets, so that the men can enter from one and the women from another.

What a triumph to the power of the gospel this Christian edifice is, rearing its pagoda tower and vieing in prominence with heathen temples! The dedication service took place in October 1889. The church, seated for 700 people, was full, while the crowd of interested spectators outside behaved with the utmost decorum. It was quite sufficient that a native Christian should stand at the door and intimate politely that it was a great day for the Christians, and that members were so numerous there was no room for outsiders. Little wonder that, in his opening sermon, Mr. Macintyre should sound a note of triumph, and contrast the old days of hostility, when the "Jesus' religion" was hated and every effort was made to stamp it out of the city, with the peace and comfort in which they were meeting that day. At the close of the service, twelve adults were baptized, and it is deeply interesting to note that it was Mr. Wylie's hand that administered the rite,—the time and place marking, as it does, an epoch in the history of the Mission. In the afternoon the Lord's Supper was observed, little groups of Christians from remote villages sitting down with the city members at the Communion Table.

Dedication service.

To meet the growing requirements of the work, the church property has had to be increased. A

gallery to seat 200 women has been added to the church itself, while two adjoining halls have been built, one for men and one for women. These additions have proved valuable additions to the work, the women's gallery having been found most advantageous in inducing more women to attend church, meeting, as it does, all national scruples, as the women neither see the men nor are seen by them.

Women's gallery.

Truly it pays to preach the gospel in Manchuria, would have been the hearty, thankful verdict of even the grumblers, could they have shared in the writer's privilege of worshipping in the Moukden church on a Sabbath in the summer of 1892. The well-filled church, the earnest intelligent faces of the worshippers, the hearty praise, the glad solemnity of sitting down at the Master's Table with 400 Chinese, the joy of seeing 17 baptized in the name of the one Father, made an impression, every memory of which is an inspiration.

Negotiations for union with the Irish Presbyterian Mission were opened in 1889, and, with the hearty approval of the Irish Assembly and of our own Synod, the union was brought to a happy consummation the following year. The missionaries representing the two Churches met in conference at Moukden in May 1891, and the decisions arrived at make this gathering one of historic interest, shaping as they did the future of the Church of Christ in Manchuria.

Union with the Irish Mission.

The first step taken was the formation of a united Presbytery. After discussion, it was agreed without a dissentient voice that it should be a *native* Presbytery, a court of the native Church, at which the missionaries

should be present as advisers, and that the official language should be Chinese. The wisdom of this decision will at once be seen, as it legislates for a strong, self-supporting, self-governing Church of the future. Nor were the missionaries less willing to forecast the future in regard to the bounds of the Presbytery. They named it *Kuan Tung*, or "East of the Barrier," thus embracing all the territory which lies east of the mountain pass where the Great Wall of China runs into the sea. Two congregations were recognised by the Conference as already formed; the one being Moukden, the other Newchwang. The principle that guided the Conference in the formation of others was the one already acknowledged, namely, the territorial; extensive parishes or districts being embraced in the word "congregation." Thus the Moukden church really included a district of twenty miles. The Newchwang church embraced the region as far south as Port Arthur,—a distance taking five days to travel; while the Chiu-tsai-kou church included a narrow strip of land near the Ya-lu river of about 100 miles in length. Fourteen district congregations were thus formed, in all of which there were scattered members, no land unoccupied by the Mission being included.

Formation of Presbytery.

Formation of congregations.

Moukden and Newchwang were the only congregations which up to this time had elders. The Conference agreed that the newly-formed congregations should be asked to elect elders, and that in all the sessions the moderator should be a Chinaman.

In May of the following year, 1892, the first meeting of the native Presbytery was held at Newchwang. Only nine of the members were Chinamen, distance and difficulty of travel preventing more from being present;

but though few in number, they represented no less than twenty congregations, with a total membership of two thousand. These native elders showed themselves most desirous, not only for the prosperity of the Church, but also for its purity. On the opium question they gave forth no uncertain sound, and legislated in such a way as to show they knew and feared its dire effects, and that those who sold or used it in any form should not enter the Church's fold. The only exception they made was to this effect: "Inquirers who are opium smokers are to seek the aid of the foreign doctor; and if, by reason of long use or other cause, it is impossible to effect a cure, and if the doctor certifies that to abandon the habit means to forfeit life, then a special dispensation may be granted, and, other things being satisfactory, he may be baptized." At the Presbytery meeting the following year, the attitude of the Chinese Christians towards the opium traffic was even more uncompromising. One of the points under discussion hinged on the question, Whether a Chinese physician or druggist should be debarred from entering the Church if he sold morphia pills as medicine for the cure of opium smoking? A small majority agreed that such a man should not be admitted, but eventually the matter was remitted to sessions to discuss and report to next meeting of Presbytery. Drastic measures such as these for maintaining the purity of the Church seem worthy of mention, as they indicate the spirit of the men who have been raised up as the early apostles of the Church of Manchuria.

Meeting of Presbytery.

Opium question discussed.

The great aim the missionaries kept in view was the settling of native pastors over the congregations as soon as practicable. The elders were stimulated to encourage

the members to raise funds for pastoral support, and the training which had been given from the first to evangelists began to take a wider scope. A theological course of eight years' duration was decided on. Most of the training included in this course is practical, for after one month of each year spent in Moukden, exclusively devoted to lectures and study, the members of this Theological Class

Native pastors.

THEOLOGICAL CLASS.

are scattered far and wide over the country to preach the gospel, as well as to study the Word for themselves. It is wisely felt that the knowledge they thus gain in soul-winning will fit them to become efficient pastors in the days to come.

Much enthusiasm attended the inauguration of the new Theological Training Scheme in 1894. It had been arranged that a junior class should meet in Moukden in

spring, and that a senior class should be taught in autumn. The first was attended by over sixty men, drawn from various parts of the field. Several elderly men were among the number,—one old man of seventy taking his place in the class, desirous of learning as much as he could. Four missionaries, one of whom was Mr. Wylie, took part in the teaching. It had been determined that each course of study should include some aspect of Confucianism, as well as Bible study and theology; and the first series of these lectures, comparing Confucian morality with Christianity, excited much interest: the keen discussions which took place in the evenings, when the members were by themselves, indicating the thoughtful interest that was awakened. The autumn course was intended for evangelists, men who had already had considerable training, and had passed examinations; the number who attended was thus of necessity limited, but over a dozen men took advantage of the instruction given.

Theological Class.

The annual Presbytery meetings held in May now bear to the Manchurian Church much the same significance as the Synod does to the home Church. Twelve representative elders took part in the meetings of 1894. One of the chief discussions centred round the creed in regard to words and phrases which would best bring out certain meanings to the Chinese. In reference to the expression "true God," no arguments used would induce the native elders to employ the word "true" in such a conjunction,—it being their opinion, emphatically expressed, that it was entirely superfluous. The Chinese elders brought before the Presbytery certain recommendations regarding the establishment and conduct of

Discussions in Presbytery.

Christian schools, thus showing their anxiety that the children should not only be educated, but placed under Christian supervision. The marriage and burial customs, a mutual-aid guild, and a native pastorate, were among the other important items brought under consideration.

VALLEY OF VICTORY.

CHAPTER X

IN THE FAR NORTH

UP till the year 1892 the policy of the Mission had been to open stations forming the links of a chain which at that time extended from Newchwang to Kai-yuen. The leading of the Holy Spirit had guided this action, and the well-nigh pentecostal showers which had been vouchsafed led to the expectation of a future of ever-increasing blessing in the districts already opened up. In the winter of 1891, Mr. Robertson and Dr. Young had made a journey to the far north of Manchuria, and prospected the district in the neighbourhood of the Sungari river. Dr. Greig, of the Irish Presbyterian Mission, had with great difficulty secured a footing in the city of Kirin, the capital of the province, but no missionary had entered the vast region to the north. A ray of light, however, had penetrated the darkness through means of two native colporteurs of the Bible Society, and a few converts and inquirers were awaiting the advent of a missionary. Thus again another door was opened, and the Guiding Hand pointed clearly to enter in. The opening of a new station in this district was agreed to in 1892, and Mr. Robertson and Dr. Young were appointed as the pioneers.

The far North.

Much of the Sungari district is flat, and few trees are to be seen; but away to the east rise high mountains, and in their vicinity primeval forests wave, while to the west and north stretch the plains of Mongolia. The soil is fertile, and grain is plentiful, but the difficulty of communication prevents much being exported. There is, however, a considerable traffic in wood, the abundance of supply to be found in the forests rendering it so cheap, that it pays to cart it over the 400 miles of execrable roads which lie between the Sungari and the markets to the south.

Sungari district.

In choosing a centre in which to begin mission operations, many things have to be considered. The claims of several towns asserted themselves; but one thing was clear to the pioneer missionaries, that work must begin at Shuang-cheng-pu, where there were some whose hearts God had touched, and who were eager for baptism. These Christians were most anxious that a chapel should be opened in their town, promising that they would not only attend for further instruction in the doctrine, but would do their utmost to get others to hear the good news. A small compound with a house was hired, where the converts could meet and worship Him who had brought them out of darkness into His marvellous light. After these arrangements had been completed, the missionaries withdrew southwards for a time.

Shuang-cheng-pu.

On their return in the autumn they found the aspect of the country very different. A rigorous winter held sway on their former visit; now their entry into the city of Shuang-cheng-pu is best described in Dr. Young's own words: "Mud, mud, without a stone, as we plough our way through the West Gate of the city, and what a

change! The main street, in winter alive with traffic, is now a sea of impassable mud. In winter it looks one of the broadest, finest thoroughfares in North China; now, except on a narrow raised sidepath, it would be impossible to take two steps along the street, as even a horse would immediately stick in the bottomless mud."

A WINTRY SCENE.

It was found that the landlord of the property which had been rented had joined the ranks of the inquirers; but the powers that were, which in this case were clearly the powers of darkness, were beginning to bestir themselves, and he was being threatened and cursed for letting his property to the "foreign devil." Things were brought to a climax when the landlord, expressing

his desire to remove to the country, leased his own house to Dr. Young for three years. No sooner did the Yamen runners hear of this than the excitement began. The landlord was waylaid, beaten, and carried to the Yamen, where he was again beaten by order of the mandarin. The workmen whom Dr. Young had engaged to repair the property, legally leased to him, were compelled to stop work, while insults and threatenings were met with on every hand. After a time the landlord was liberated on bail, but liberty was refused to Dr. Young either to alter the property or dispense medicine.

Opposition.

During this trying time the converts remained faithful, and it may well be taken as a token of future blessing, that the first members of the Church in this far-off outpost were men whole-hearted in their devotion, and willing to suffer, if needs be, for Christ's sake. Even in those days of persecution, the Lord added to the Church, and those who had found the way were kept busy telling the story of the Cross. He who has promised to make the rough places plain before His servants, helped at this crisis in an unexpected way. A soldier, shot in the head, was carried one day into the city in a dying condition. Dr. Young sent word that he might be able to save him; but it was not till after the poor man had been taken the round of the native doctors that he was carried to the inn in which Dr. Young was staying. A successful operation saved his life, and brought about a change in the disposition of the populace. The mandarin in charge of the soldiers in the city publicly called on Dr. Young to offer thanks, while the inn, which had been almost deserted, was now a busy scene, patients of all classes flocking to the doctor, who had been

Whole-hearted converts.

informed by the Yamen that he might heal as many as he liked!

To the east of Shuang-cheng-pu lies the city of A-shih-ho, with a large population, and a densely populated country lying around. It soon became apparent that A-shih-ho was the best centre for evangelistic effort, and again Dr. Young's medical

A-shih-ho.

STREET IN A-SHIH-HO.

skill was the key to open up an entrance. During his first visit of three weeks' duration he treated upwards of five hundred patients, and, as he expressed it, "thus carved our way through abscesses and ulcers into the favour of the people." Almost immediately the first breach in this heathen stronghold was made, when five men gave in their names as inquirers; and very shortly afterwards a property in an eligible locality, suitable for both medical and evangelistic work, was offered to the

Mission, which it is hoped will be available as soon as work can be resumed.

At Shuang-cheng-pu the foundations of a church were being securely laid; the members were carefully instructed in Bible knowledge, and were being taught, among other things, the duty of Christian liberality.

Collection-plate.

When Chao, the chapel-preacher, was told that a plate should be handed round at the Sabbath service, he was very dubious of the results; but Mr. Robertson pointed out to him that it was better many outsiders should misunderstand, than that the members should not be trained from the first to give as they had received. It is worthy of note that the first congregational collection taken in Shuang-cheng-pu amounted to four shillings, equal to a home collection of two pounds.

By the spring of 1894 the membership had increased to twenty-six, and the gospel had been carried far beyond the city walls by means of the Word and the living testimony of the converts. Chao, the preacher, reliable and enthusiastic, did much to further the efforts of the missionaries. This man's history is full of interest. A brother one day bought a Gospel from a passing colporteur. It fell into the hands of Chao, who was a doctor and the best educated member of the family. He took it up from time to time, and one day read that the Jesus spoken of could heal all diseases and cast out devils. This arrested his attention, and made him wish to hear more. His brother told him he should go to Tieh-ling, to *the-explain-book-chapel*. Chao took his advice, and day after day he listened and watched from a back seat in the Tieh-ling chapel; then he went home to study the problems of Christianity, and when at last the light

Chao, the preacher.

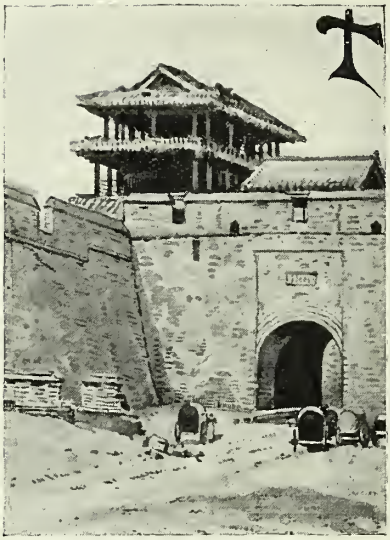
broke on his soul, he presented himself to the astonished preacher in Tieh-ling well equipped with Christian truth. Three years after this, he was chosen as the channel to help to convey the water of life to the dry and thirsty region round Shuang-cheng-pu,—a vessel made meet for the Master's use for winning others, having fought his own way from darkness and doubt to peace and joy.

Among the early converts was an interesting woman, the second wife of Liu, the landlord of the Mission house. When Mrs. Liu was married she was a heathen, but soon became interested in Christianity, and began to learn to read in order that she might study the Bible for herself. When she was being examined with a view to baptism, the grasp and originality of her answers greatly surprised the missionary. Her husband said with pride of her, "Oh, my heart is dull, but her heart is quick; she knows far more than I do, and loves it more." Mr. Robertson writes thus of her baptism: "She stood so modestly, the plain little creature, her face round as a frying-pan, and all marked with smallpox pits; and yet I felt like Samuel anointing David, for I knew a genuine religious earnestness stood before me, humble, contrite, and pure, and I saw one of our future Bible-women in the north,—a Manchu woman, strong, clever, and earnest. And so the last was first, the wife entered before Liu, who knew us from the first; let us hope, as he has helped to sanctify her, she may in turn wholly sanctify him!"

Mrs. Liu.

CHAPTER XI

LENGTHENING THE CORDS



CITY WALL, TIEH-LING.

THE work in the district to the north of Moukden, of which Kai-yuen is the centre, had by this time spread with a rapidity far surpassing the most sanguine expectations. Towards the close of 1892, the first Communion was dispensed in the city of Kai-yuen, when sixty-five men and women partook of the Supper, while thirty-seven applicants for baptism looked on from a corner of the overcrowded chapel. This proved a time of quickening, the Spirit's power being very manifest. Many were so impressed that they were

unable to control their emotion. One old woman of seventy-nine was among the number, who had walked fifteen miles in order to acknowledge her Lord and Saviour and receive baptism.

Growth in Kai-yuen.

The ingathering of souls went on during 1893. In October of that year, Mr. Webster itinerated in the district, and found that the influence of the preaching of the gospel in the street chapel in Kai-yuen had spread far and wide. In the Tsai valley, thirty miles from Kai-yuen, he was kept busy by those whose hearts were won, but who were still very imperfectly instructed in the way of life. In this district mountains and plains abound, and places which fifteen years ago were without an inhabitant, are now thickly populated by industrious farmers, merchants, and artisans. Uncultivated wastes are being reclaimed, and the foundations are being laid of an important wealth-producing region. The immigrants who have settled in these plains have left their old graves and temples far behind: with them they have left much of their national conservatism, and are thus more open to receive new ideas. The Hai-lung-cheng and Tung-hua districts are felt to be very hopeful spheres for sowing the gospel seed, on account of this and other reasons; and the duty of lengthening the cords, and taking steps for the more thorough shepherding of the many converts in the north, has been weighing heavily on our missionaries for some time past.

Ingathering of converts.

At the May meetings of 1894, Mr. Webster brought up the question of opening a new centre in Kai-yuen, and offered to go and settle there, should the Manchuria Committee and the Mission Board approve. Mr.

Webster's proposal has been heartily sanctioned, and though, on account of the war, it has not been carried into effect, it is expected that at no distant date he will take up his residence in Kai-yuen, from which vantage-ground he will be able to superintend a work of rare promise, which, with signal tokens of the Divine blessing resting upon it, is already breaking forth on the right hand and on the left.

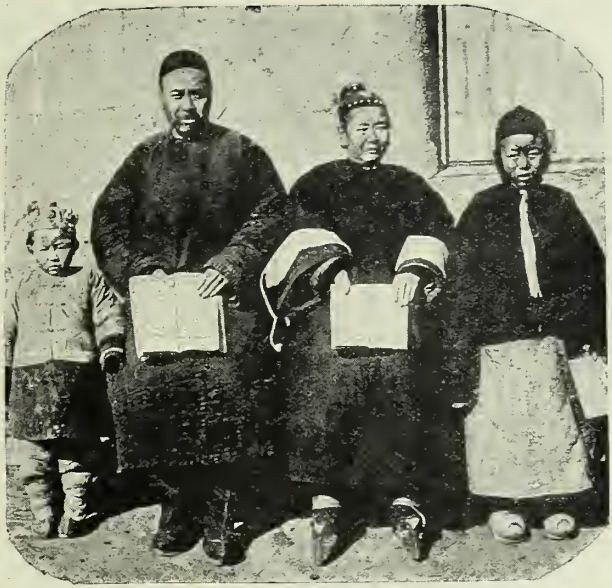
Proposal in regard to Kai-yuen.

The wide district round Tieh-ling has also proved a field white unto the harvest; and each year has seen an increase in the good grain gathered in. The congregation there has now its own elder and deacons, and its Christian school. A much larger place of worship is required, and the members are looking forward to building a church as soon as possible, and are anxious to do what they can to defray the expense themselves. In the country districts there has not been the same battle to wage with opposition as in the cities; and the greater number of the 252 members, who at the end of 1894 were included in the Tieh-ling congregation, live in neighbouring villages. In some of these villages there are small chapels. An interesting instance of this is to be found in Ying-pan, a village to the west, where a merchant has built a little room, at the end of his store, to serve as a chapel and inquiry room. "Those who come to buy talk to me in the shop, but those who want to hear the doctrine talk to me in the inner room," were the merchant's words regarding it. When Mr. Inglis went to the village, this room was so crowded that the meeting adjourned to the more spacious apartment in this Christian's private house, where an audience of fifty heard of Jesus.

Blessing in Tieh-ling district.

It is well to emphasise that in this district, as well as

in others throughout Manchuria, it was the message and not the messenger which attracted men; for of far the larger proportion of inquirers, none ever saw a foreigner till the missionary examined them for baptism. Thus they were not drawn by curiosity, neither were there any inducements nor worldly gain to be derived, nor



KAI-YUEN CHRISTIAN DOCTOR AND FAMILY.

were there any outward attractions in the simple chapels and the unlettered evangelists. There was nothing at all but the uplifted cross: "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto Me." Strong magnet of the ages, whose power in drawing hearts never wanes!

In the villages along the main road from Tieh-ling to

Kai-yuen, there is now to be found a continuous line of members. In the town of Wei-yuen-pu-men, to the north of Kai-yuen, there is a chapel, and the work begun there some years ago is spreading to the villages beyond. The condition of four small temples, which stand just outside of Wei-yuen-pu-men, may be taken as the sign of the good time coming. Some of the young inquirers broke in pieces all the idols they contained some time ago, and they now stand empty and desolate, no attempt having been made to replace the destroyed images.

Wei-yuen-pu-men.

North from Wei-yuen-pu-men, the line of light is carried to Tai-ping-kou, where the mustard seed planted by blind Chang is growing rapidly. With the exception of the salary paid to a Christian schoolmaster, the work has been going on without any expense to the home Church. Many of the members are farmers, who have voluntarily used what leisure time they had in preaching. Two of the members stand out conspicuously for their zeal. One of these, a man named Liu, had been at one time a highway robber, and, having been seized, was on the point of death when he escaped with the halter round his neck. An opium smoker and addicted to vice, conversion wrought on Liu a mighty change, and his determined, resolute spirit has marked him out as a leader. The other is a man named Chao, whose humility and gentleness make him a striking contrast to Liu, but who has been equally valiant in the good fight of faith, and in exerting his influence for righteousness in the neighbourhood.

Tai-ping-kou.

The light has been borne north from Tai-ping-kou to the town of Mai-mai-kai. Here, after some trouble and persecution, a chapel has been rented and a small beginning made. The next town of

Mai-mai-kai.

importance in a northerly direction is the city of Kuan-cheng-tzu, which is manned by the Irish Presbyterian Mission,—our own Mission having no station farther than Mai-mai-kai till the far-off Sungari region is reached. Thus the torch of truth has been carried northwards. In some of the centres, "the people that walked in darkness have seen a great light," while, even in districts where the light is yet dim and feeble, evidences are not wanting that it is of the Lord's own kindling.

But it is not only in the north that the cords have been lengthened within recent years. About twenty-three miles to the north-east of Moukden is the town of I-lu, the busy centre of a large agricultural population. It is a town "long drawn out," its line of houses extending for about three miles along a valley. Standing as it does well-nigh midway between Moukden and Tieh-ling,

I-lu.

the position of I-lu pointed it out as a good central station, but for years it remained utterly untouched. Native evangelists passing through preached Christ, but no inquirers appeared, and they spoke of it as very hard and flinty soil. Even colporteurs reported that they could sell no books in I-lu.

It has been said, "When any other heathen is converted a soul is saved, but when a Chinaman is converted a power is gained"; and this seems to hold true even when the convert appears weak and erring. Certainly, in the opening up of I-lu, God made use of a very unlikely instrument, choosing again "the weak things of the world to confound things which are mighty." Many years ago a man named Jan was baptized in

Instrument used.

Moukden, and shortly afterwards removed to South China. On his return to Manchuria, after a long absence, he went to Shuang-cheng-pu, where Dr. Young tended him through

a severe illness. He was afterwards engaged as a colporteur, but, not proving satisfactory, was on the point of being dismissed, when it was resolved to give him another trial. To the surprise of the missionaries, Jan returned to Moukden, after a prolonged absence, with a list of applicants for baptism, a number of whom were in I-lu. Liu, the Moukden preacher, was sent to I-lu to make full inquiries, and the good news proved true. He found that one after another had gathered round Jan in the evenings, some of whom had heard the gospel in Moukden and Tieh-ling, and were anxious to join the Christian Church. The inquirers showed they were in earnest, for before Liu left they had paid for a house, and had fitted it up for public preaching as well as for a place of worship for themselves.

Mr. Ross, rejoicing in heart that an entrance had at last been gained in I-lu, paid it a visit in order to exhort and instruct the inquirers. Returning after the New Year, he admitted fourteen into the Church by baptism. The accommodation in the little chapel was already inadequate for the number of those anxious to become members. Men who had to be up before daybreak went every evening to the chapel and remained till midnight, or until the preacher in sheer exhaustion had to send them away. Writing of this revival, Mr. Ross says, "This movement was indeed like the beginning of the Church as recorded in Acts." One of the leaders, when trouble was hinted at, said in one of the meetings, "My Saviour died for me, and if that year comes round when there is beheading for His sake, I am ready."

Baptisms.

In the region which lies east of Moukden, signs are appearing that "the morning cometh," and it is likely that ere long a strategic point will require to be chosen

as a centre from which the work in this district can be supervised. Historically, it is interesting ground: Hsing-ching, the ancient capital of the Manchus, being situated on one of its plains, while Sarhoo, the battlefield which prepared the way for Manchu ascendancy over China, is close to one of

Historic ground.

HSING-CHING.

its narrow valleys. The business centre for a wide extent of the district is Hsing-ping-pu, a large and prosperous town, commanding comparatively easy access to numerous valleys which run in all directions among the surrounding hills.

An evangelist has been sent to Hsing-ping-pu, and the way has been wonderfully opened up for him in the

beginning of his work. Only one house was vacant, but no difficulty was experienced in securing it for a chapel; this was all the more striking as it belonged to a subordinate of the Yamen. A bold sect called Tsai-li-ti, who are intensely political, might have proved formidable and dangerous, but Mr. Ross had an

Hsing-ping-pu.

HSING-PING-PU.

opportunity of meeting some of the leaders during a visit he paid to the district in 1893, and succeeded in disarming their hostility, and coming to friendly terms with them. During this visit several were baptized, and others were more fully instructed, while Mr. Ross was much impressed by the hopefulness of the outlook in regard to spiritual results, and the importance of lengthening the cords in this eastern district as soon as possible.

For some time blind Chang has been carrying on aggressive work in the Valley of Victory, at a considerable distance to the east of Tai-ping-kou. This district has been open to colonists for about thirteen years. One of the first settlers was a man named Li, who after a time opened a shop in a village near Tai-ping-kou, where he came under the influence of the truth and was baptized. The day after his baptism he returned to his farm in the distant valley. Lonely, and longing for Christian fellowship, he affixed a notice on a tree, at the spot where the highway passes the end of the valley, intimating that a Christian named Li lived not far off. It was seen by a Christian stone-cutter, and soon Li had congenial friends.

Valley of Victory.

Mr. Inglis accompanied Mr. Ross on a journey to the Valley of Victory in 1891, when the first converts were baptized and an infant church was founded. For a time the work languished on account of hostile surroundings, but the few members remained firm, and when blind Chang went, inquirers began to gather round him. On Mr. Inglis's return, two years after his first visit, he found forty inquirers; and though of these only nineteen were found ready for baptism, it was felt that a genuine work of grace was going on.

Numerous inquirers.

A congregational meeting was held after the baptismal service, to which nearly all the members came, though some had to walk the greater part of a day to be present. It was found that the most central point was no less than fifteen miles from the circumference, but the members agreed to meet there for worship on Sundays. They elected two managers, and invited blind Chang to remain as their preacher, promising to provide him with board and

Congregational meeting.

lodging. One of the members offered to open a school at his own expense.

The story of one of those Mr. Inglis baptized is interesting, as showing the leadings of providence. Some years ago a great burning of heretical books took

CONVERTS IN VALLEY OF VICTORY.

place in the province of Kirin, when the library of this convert's father was destroyed; but in the conflagration one book, a New Testament, was saved. The son, a native doctor, read it, and on finding that the doctrines were not Chinese, nor the style classical, he at first despised it. God, however, was leading him by a way he knew not, and the

Providential leadings.

Valley of Victory came to be to him "a door of hope," for there he found the conquering Christ, and entered on the overcoming life.

Mr. Inglis records of his journey in the "New East," towards the close of 1893, that he travelled over 360 miles of road, and only one day passed by without his meeting some member of the Church. Such were some of the bright prospects that were opening up before the Mission in 1894, and the following words of the Tieh-ling elder to Mr. Inglis—"I think our province is like the rivers in the spring: the ice is not yet broken up, but it is ready to break"—seemed to well describe the spiritual condition of things. But suddenly and unexpectedly the war-clouds gathered and obscured the sky of fair promise, bringing all work in the interior, so far as the foreign missionaries were concerned, to a stop, and compelling them to betake themselves to the port of Newchwang.

Bright prospects.

CHAPTER XII

TRIED IN THE FURNACE

JAPAN'S formal declaration of war with China was issued on the 1st of August 1894. It may be well to briefly state the causes which led to this war. For a long time a feeling of jealousy has existed between China and Japan in regard to Korea. Though claimed by China as a vassal, Japan enjoyed certain treaty rights with Korea, and the violation of these rights by China, if not the cause, was made the occasion for the declaration of war.

Outbreak of war.

The oppression and misgovernment which had existed for long in their country had at last raised a spirit of rebellion in many Koreans, which in the spring of 1894 threatened to plunge the country in civil war. The Korean Government sought China's help to quell this insurrection. The appeal was responded to, several thousand Chinese soldiers being despatched to Korea. Japan, quick and alert, and, as it has since transpired, well prepared to enter on war, took advantage at once of this condition of affairs in Korea, and landed a large force in the peninsula. From the first, Japan's naval and military tactics were characterised by promptitude and efficiency. She quickly seized the strategic points of

Causes of war.

vantage round Seoul, the capital, and when her terms to China were met by refusal, and by the demand for the withdrawal of the Japanese troops, she resolutely determined to prevent the landing of any more Chinese soldiers in Korea. How the Chinese were driven out of their tributary kingdom of Korea, and the war carried into their own borders; how, unprepared and untrained as they proved to be, they were defeated in nearly every engagement; and how, with their fortresses and warships captured, and their capital menaced, they had to lay low their prestige and pride and sue for peace,—are now facts of history. But what the ultimate political results may be, arising from the war, is still a problem which in a measure waits solution. That Russia is not satisfied to have Vladivostock, a port which is icebound for four months in the year, as the only terminus to the Great Siberian Railway, now nearing completion, is well known. Whether she will attempt to secure a port in Korea, which would be open all the year round; and whether, in this event, the other European powers would acquiesce in Russia thus obtaining a leading position on the east of Asia,—are questions still fraught with anxiety. But though the outlook may not be without some omens of trouble still to come, and though it is yet too soon to speak of results wrought on China through the rude awakening she has received from her dream of superiority, it is matter for devout gratitude that the war is at an end. We may well leave results with Him to whom all history is the unfolding of a mighty purpose, and who may be hastening, in ways we cannot fathom, the coming of His kingdom in the Empires of the East.

Questions unsolved.

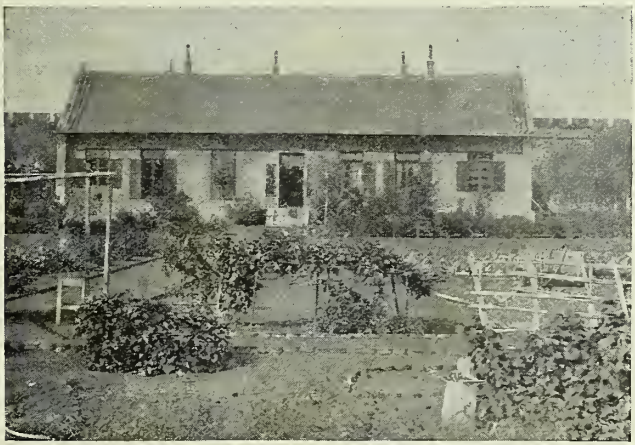
The first visible effect of the war felt by our Mission was crushing and heartrending. Fifteen hundred

Manchu soldiers were summoned from Kirin, and, when marching southwards to the seat of war, they conducted themselves in a savage and ruffianly manner. A band of these soldiers reached Liao-yang on 10th August, and took up their quarters in an inn near Mr. Wylie's house and the preaching-chapel. Utterly undisciplined and reckless, they first made a raid on the chapel while preaching was going on, and succeeded in putting the native evangelists to flight and wrecking the premises. They then proceeded to Mr. Wylie's compound, but could not gain admittance. In the meantime Mr. Wylie communicated with the Yamen, and, receiving no reply, he unfortunately started himself to seek help. Soon, alas! it reached the soldiers' ears that a foreigner was in the street; they quickly sought Mr. Wylie out, and, in spite of Deacon Liu's intervention, they savagely attacked him, ultimately leaving him for dead.

Martyrdom of Mr. Wylie.

Dr. Gray, little dreaming of the awful tragedy which was being enacted, was mounting his horse to ride to the Yamen to see a patient, when a member rushed up to say that the soldiers had wrecked the chapel. Not realising the imminent danger, Dr. Gray started to call on Mr. Wylie, and see if help was needed: thus he too was out at the moment of greatest peril, but fortunately, going by another way, he escaped meeting the soldiers. Finding Mr. Wylie had left his house to go to the Yamen, Dr. Gray concluded that he would probably go from there to the hospital, so, hoping to meet him, he rode on. On reaching the hospital, he learned that Mr. Wylie had been attacked, and hastened to put on Chinese dress to go and seek for him. Before he could start, a commander with some soldiers from the Yamen arrived, inquiring how they could help, and were immediately

asked to find and bring Mr. Wylie, the hospital dispensers and other Chinese friends accompanying them. Soon the unconscious sufferer was brought to Dr. Gray, who, at the request of the Yamen official, had waited behind. Everything that loving care could devise was done, but, after lingering a few days, our martyred missionary went home to receive his crown of glory.



MISSION HOUSE IN WHICH MR. WYLIE DIED.

Greatly beloved by all with whom he came in contact, and ever conciliatory and wise in his treatment of the Chinese, Mr. Wylie's tragic death came as a great and unexpected blow; while the sudden quenching of his young life, bright with the promise of a great usefulness, filled all hearts with deep sorrow. The following extracts from a letter sent to his father by the members in Liao-yang, show the impress he had made on Chinese hearts.

Letter from Liao-yang members.

"To the honourable Mr. Wylie,— Your honourable son came across the great seas to arouse the people. Our pastor fell upon trouble, and his soul has gone on high. Among his friends there is no one who does not mourn. . . . Our pastor died like one of the many prophets of old, and his good deeds, like theirs, will be related after him. He has finished his great work. He has preached by his conduct. He has awoke from his dream, and is now close by the throne of God. Holy living is rewarded with glory. Our pastor has early entered the heavenly city. . . . In the service of his invisible Lord, his deep earnestness was remarkable. In his love of visible man, his actions are well worthy of imitation. When he saw the hungry, he fed him; he gave drink to the thirsty; he provided lodging for the wanderer; he clothed the naked; he cared for the sick; he visited the prisoner. Cold winds or pouring rain never prevented him from preaching the gospel in town or village. By night in his bed he was ready to proclaim the heavenly doctrines to any listener. His goodness is worthy of being ever recorded, and is fitted to be a noble example. Our pastor is gone, but his life lives in brightness before the eyes and in the ears of men." This letter was signed in name of all the members of the Church of Liao-yang by eighteen representatives.

Peril of missionaries.

Mr. and Mrs. Douglas, Mrs. Alexander Westwater, and Miss Sinelair, who were in Liao-yang at this sad time, were also in considerable peril. The chief magistrate was friendly, and desirous of rendering all protection in his power. His entire force, however, only numbered fifty, and, when attempting to procure the surrender of one of the rioters who had been identified, the Kirin soldiers

not only refused to submit to his authority, but actually so menaced him that his chair-bearers had to run with him for his life, while several of his retinue were cruelly handled. He was thus entirely helpless, and it was in the power of these lawless soldiers to work their evil will, had not the Highest restrained them.

After the magistrate had been put to flight, every patient left the hospital in terror, but the dispensers and servants loyally remained, not one deserting his post in the hour of danger. News of the outrage having been forwarded to Moukden, a mounted messenger was sent to Liao-yang with reassuring messages. Proclamations were posted up intimating that the missionaries were under Government protection, and that in future no Manchu troops would be allowed to enter the city. A proclamation was also issued from Pekin to the same effect.

On the last Sabbath of his life, Mr. Wylie held a Communion service in the hospital instead of in the chapel, in order that the women members might also be present, as the arrangement of the building allowed them to share in the privilege without being seen by the men, thus avoiding offending Chinese propriety. About a hundred communicants were present, the largest number that ever sat down together to the Lord's Supper in Liao-yang. How little they knew that he who presided was delivering his last solemn message to them, and that he was so soon to drink of the new wine in his Father's kingdom! After Mr. Wylie's death, the Sabbath services continued to be held in the hospital. During the service on 20th September, a band of soldiers again caused great anxiety, forcing their way into the hospital and afterwards into the mission com-

Mr. Wylie's last Communion.

pound, a riot being averted with great difficulty. On account of this fresh danger and the uncertainty that prevailed, it was deemed expedient that the ladies should go to the port of Newchwang. Shortly afterwards the other missionaries had to leave Liao-yang, and, the country becoming more and more unsettled, all the missionaries in the other parts of the interior were compelled to leave their posts and also proceed to Newchwang, by order of the British consul.

Missionaries proceed to Newchwang.

Dr. Ross, who a few months previously had received the degree of D.D. from the Glasgow University, and Mrs. Ross came home to Scotland for needed rest; Dr. Young also left China, but all the other missionaries remained. Though shut in at Newchwang, they found abundant opportunity for Christian service, not only among the Chinese, but among the men of the British and American gunboats, which were in dock there for the winter. Later on, when the war drew nearer, preparations were made for rendering help to the wounded soldiers. In December a Chinese inn was rented, and converted into a Red Cross hospital. The news soon spread through the army, and many of the wounded availed themselves of the merciful provision thus made for them. As the fighting grew fiercer and the battles more frequent, the number of patients increased, so that other hospitals had to be improvised, and every available help made use of. Customs officials, pilots, seamen, and merchants all lent a hand, and worked cordially with the missionaries in this labour of love.

From first to last about a thousand soldiers were treated. Belonging for the most part to distant parts of the Empire, these suffering strangers, far from kith and kin, soon learned to trust the missionaries; and

their genuine gratitude was expressed, not only by their looks and words, but by the manner in which they submitted to the missionaries' wishes and treatment. One soldier, the spokesman of some forty or fifty men, said when they were leaving, "Pastors, we are returning to our camps, and we will tell our officers, from the general downwards, what the foreigners have done for us; and when we return to our homes, we will make it known to our fathers and mothers, our wives and children, and they will hand it down to their children's children, and you will not be forgotten for ten generations."

Work among the wounded.

The Chinese authorities make no provision for the wounded. Thus many who would in ordinary circumstances have been left to die in the battlefield from exposure and neglect, owe their lives to the treatment they received in Newchwang. The care bestowed on them must inevitably tell for good in many directions. Soldiers are a class in China who have much in their power to help or mar the missionaries' influence, and no one can gauge the benefits that may accrue from their reports of the kindness they have received at the foreigners' hands. No doubt the work done for these men contributed largely to the safety of the foreign community during a time of much anxiety, when fighting was so near that the sound of cannon could be distinctly heard. When these soldiers are scattered far and wide over the land, with hearts softened, and hatred turned into respect, they will doubtless ofttimes, in ways they themselves little understand, be used as the instruments for helping on the establishment of the reign of the Prince of Peace. Surely here again we can trace the gracious dealings of the Lord, who even through the clouds and darkness

Effects.

of war leads His servants to bring forth fruit to His glory, and establishes the work of their hands.

The Japanese gained possession of the port of Newchwang on the 6th of March. Happily no resistance was made by the Chinese; and though severe fighting took place in the neighbourhood shortly afterwards, the foreign community had no longer anything to fear, as one of the first steps taken by the Japanese was to secure the safety of all the foreigners. Immediately after the proclamation of peace, the missionaries made a representation to Her Majesty's consul, requesting permission to proceed into the interior. On 15th July a despatch was received from Pekin, in virtue of which the consul was able to issue passports. Boats were quickly hired, and with glad hearts the missionaries bade farewell to the scene of their captivity.

Proclamation of peace.

CHAPTER XIII

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CONVERTS

A MARKED characteristic of the native Christians in Manchuria has been the way in which they have recognised the bond which unites them to the home Church. In order to understand its significance, one has to remember the gulf which exists between a Chinaman and a foreigner. To the ordinary Chinaman, the foreigner is a man to be despised. What can he have to say that is worth listening to by those who are the custodians of the wisdom of the sages! Even to the simple, ignorant people, who do not argue in this way, there is at first a great separation. The foreigner's language, dress, customs, modes of thought, are all strange; but when the fatherhood of God is recognised, the brotherhood that binds those who are one in Christ Jesus quickly springs up in Chinese hearts. Hatred not only disappears, but differences are forgotten, and the love of grateful hearts goes out to those in the foreign land who have sent to them the Word of life.

The bond which unites.

A token of this was sent home in 1888 in the form of a Chinese epistle: "Respectfully presented by the Presbyterian Church of Manchuria of the right religion of Jesus to the Presbyterian mother Church of Scotland,

to set forth the praise of the Lord." This epistle begins by asserting that "truth is not selfishly private. Through the close investigation of ancient times, we find that the proclamation of the doctrine of heaven was not unknown in Flowery China. We acknowledge the value of the Six Classics and the Four Books; but how could Confucius and Mencius repair the ruins of man's heart? Happily Heaven has not forsaken the Flowery Nation, though the Lord of Salvation was born in Judea, and at length the doctrine, able to make all under heaven one family, has entered the Central Flowery Land."

Chinese epistle.

The self-sacrificing labours of "Pastor Ross" are then related, and the condition of the country before his coming is thus described: "At that time Manchuria had not yet heard the name of Jesus. Men esteemed only reputation as profit. They paid attention to robes and hats; they did not seek to crystal-clear their hearts. Now all is changed: there are about a thousand who have been baptized. The revilers of the truth are day by day decreasing; those embracing the truth are day by day increasing. The congregation has the appearance of daily-growing prosperity; the converts exhibit a daily enlarging zeal. Finally, many have turned their backs on their old dispositions. The rigorous and fierce are become gentle; the proud and conceited are become humble; the deceitful and lying have learned truthfulness. Other qualities retained have been modified. The vulgar and rude have become sincere; the crafty and cunning have become wise and discerning; the grasping have become unyieldingly strict. Whether originally wise or stupid, virtuous or otherwise, all have to a larger or lesser extent become new." The epistle goes on to express wonder that in little more

than ten years these changes should have been brought about by the Jesus' religion, and concludes with grateful acknowledgments to the home Church for the inestimable blessing brought to the land.

Perseverance is one of the leading characteristics of the Chinese. For the most part they plod on patiently and doggedly in the ruts trodden by their ancestors for ages, performing with diligence the work given them to do. This characteristic, when sanctified, has proved very fruitful in the spread of the gospel in Manchuria; men who have found Christ, not only intensely desire to see others brought to Him, but work ofttimes with long patience for that end. The story of Hou will illustrate this. Hou's home was in Tsu-yu-to, a village beyond the road leading north from Moukden into Mongolia. He was joint-owner with his brother of a smith's shop in Moukden, and it was in that city that he first heard the gospel message, and was baptized in 1887. Immediately after his baptism he went back to Tsu-yu-to to make known the glad tidings, but was treated with scorn and contempt. Hou did not despair, but patiently continued in his attempts to win souls for Christ. At last he succeeded in interesting one who was a much better scholar than himself, and induced him to go to Moukden for further instruction, where he too became a believer and was baptized.

Perseverance.

Story of Hou.

All this time Hou's own family remained obdurate; and, longing greatly that they might find the joy and peace so precious to himself, he brought another member from Moukden to plead with them. Just then there was brought into the family circle a Christian bride from Moukden, who proved to be a fearless evangelist. Her efforts and Hou's prayers had a wonderful effect,

and one after another of the family became applicants for baptism. The wife of one of the sons was so much in earnest, that she went from house to house in the village till all had heard the good news, and not a few in neighbouring villages also heard the message of love from her lips. When Dr. Ross went to Tsu-yu-to he found twenty-nine ready for baptism. Added to those there were four infants, making a total of thirty-three who received the sacred rite. Twenty-four of these belonged to Hou's family, with ages ranging from that of the old great-grandmother down to Hou's infant grandson.

Unselfishness.

The unselfishness of the converts comes out in strong relief when contrasted with the selfishness which seems to be inborn in most Chinese, a characteristic painfully apparent in the everyday life of the people. A cart sticks in the mud, plenty of strong shoulders are around, but one looks in vain for the willing one to take its place at the wheel. "Why should I trouble myself with the affairs of another?" is too often the rule by which a Chinaman is guided. But all this is changed when he becomes a Christian. The naturally cold, selfish heart wells over with love, and becomes willing to do and dare for others for Christ's sake.

Liu's devotion.

A striking proof of this was given by Liu at Liao-yang, when he showed truly Christlike devotion in his attempt to save Mr. Wylie's life at the risk of his own. When Mr. Wylie was beaten down by the blows of the murderous soldiers, Liu spread himself over his pastor's prostrate body that he might receive the blows in his stead. He was dragged away, but the spirit of love which prompted his action proved the mighty change in that man.—"Greater love hath no

man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friend."

Chinese backbone.

The solidity and backbone of the Chinaman, which render him strong and steadfast when once he is convinced, have proved a splendid foundation on which to build the fabric of grace. The Christians in Manchuria have been called upon in not a few instances to suffer persecution, and yet, when danger threatened, they have not wavered in their loyalty to Christ. The landlord of an inn, in a village near Tieh-ling, recently made a good confession. Anti-Christian rumours were rife, and it must have been most disquieting when one day a band of soldiers arrived at the inn and demanded the names of those of the family who were Christians. The old man had not then been baptized, but he calmly replied, "Some of the family are so young that they have no names, but you may put us all seven down as Christians." The son, an earnest Christian, was overjoyed at this bold confession of his father; he himself had been driven from school because he would not pay his devotions to the tablet representing Confucius. Dr. Ross baptized the whole family, and the father, in speaking of the troubles which might be in store for his countrymen, said, "It is impossible but that the wind will blow, and when it blows the chaff is driven away, but the good grain remains." Then he added, "If necessary, it were easy to shed one's blood for one's Saviour."

Tang's courage.

Tang, a Liao-yang man who had been refused baptism no less than three times for want of sufficient knowledge, was recently seized by a band of soldiers and bound hand and foot. A sword was held to his throat, and the question was asked, "Are you a believer in Jesus?" "Yes," was the

bold reply; "I am a Christian." After a time he was released. On the following Sabbath, when he came to worship, the preacher Li asked him how he, having such a short experience of the Christian life, could witness so boldly in the presence of death. Tang's beautiful answer was, "I have just been reading how Peter denied his Master, and afterwards went out and wept bitterly; and how could I deny my Lord?" Tang will not again have to ask in vain for baptism!

Liberality.

The generosity which leads to liberal giving is not a striking feature in the Chinese, so that the liberality which many of the Christians display is all the more a matter for thankfulness. In considering this, it must be remembered that the great majority of the members are poor; with enough for their own needs, they have little to give away. But from the first the duty of Christian giving has been kept before them, and God Himself has taught the lesson to not a few. In the days when the Moukden members met for worship in an old shop in a back court, a gathering of believers was held to consider the question of supporting one of themselves to preach the gospel in the towns and villages beyond Moukden. After one of the members had spoken in a strain somewhat inclined to damp the ardour of the meeting, there rose in the back of the hall a man whose well-worn cotton robes indicated that he was poor. He found great difficulty at first in giving vent to the strong feeling under which he was labouring, then he exclaimed, "Brethren, we ourselves have been saved through the grace of God, and we cannot stand by and see our brethren perish in their ignorance. We must send our messenger to tell them of a Saviour able to save and bless them. *Put me down for five strings.*"

This was the first acquaintance the missionaries had

with Tung-Yu, and they found that his subscription meant to him a full week's wage. His story proved to be deeply interesting. A friend having come to Moukden to learn about the Jesus' doctrine, Tung followed in order to try and save him from the foreigner and his evil doctrine. On his arrival he was told he would find him at the preaching-chapel at the North Gate. He found the chapel and his friend, but to his surprise it was no foreigner who was preaching, but one of his own countrymen; so, somewhat appeased, he sat down to listen. Drawn as by a powerful magnet, he went again and again, till he found Jesus, and believed with his whole heart. Tung-Yu's Christian life has been full of fruitful service, and he is now a faithful and efficient evangelist in one of the valleys to the north of Moukden.

Tung-Yu.

Christian forbearance has been frequently exemplified by the converts, and this again shows the change wrought by grace, for the Chinese are not naturally meek under provocation, but are quick to seek revenge through litigation or other means. Old Chiao of Yen-tai was a striking example of what the gospel effects in this way. When he became a Christian he was the headman of the town, collecting the Government taxes and transacting legal business. Before his conversion he was known as a man of strong passions, and unable to bear the smallest insult. When he embraced Christianity, an influential man in the town became his implacable foe, and so stirred up opposition against him that he was obliged to resign his official post. Personal violence, false charges, and legal proceedings followed, all of which Chiao bore meekly. His changed conduct was too marked to pass unnoticed, and it soon produced a wonderful effect in favour of

Forbearance.

Christianity, even his worst enemies acknowledging the power of the Jesus' religion, which had worked in Chiao the remarkable change from ferocity and revenge to patient enduring of unjust suffering.

Whole-heartedness.

The whole-heartedness of the Christians is worthy of note. When their eyes are opened, like the disciples of old, they see "no man save Jesus only." How great the contrast here to those who have been wont to lean for safety on a complex mingling of Confucian, Buddhist, and Taoist beliefs! The reply given to Dr. Ross by a woman at Kai-yuen voices the attitude of many of the converts. When deprecating her ignorance, she said, "But I know one thing, with my whole heart I trust in Jesus as my Saviour."

CHRISTIAN PEASANTS.

The boldness and earnestness of the majority of the converts have been, as the whole story of the Mission shows, one of their chief characteristics from the first. They have feared not to raise the banner of the Cross,

and declare the whole counsel of God to friend and foe alike, beginning usually with those of their own household. For one of the most hopeful signs of the work is, that the spread of the gospel has been in great measure a family movement. This is specially true of the villages, it having been found in many instances that, when the Spirit of God lays hold of a man, the members of his family are usually won for Christ; and when the patriarchal size of the Chinese family is taken into account, the importance of this feature of the Mission will be realised.

Boldness and earnestness.

The weak, the feeble, the ignorant, the erring, are no doubt within the pale of the Manchurian Church,—the wheat and the tares grow there together, as in other lands, until the harvest,—but the preponderance of the good grain, and its power of yielding increase, affords bright promise of a glorious harvest yet to be gathered in.

CHAPTER XIV

WORK IN THE KOREAN VALLEYS

IN tracing the history of the Mission, we find ourselves carried beyond the boundaries of Manchuria into the peninsula of Korea, which lies to the east. In 1873, Dr. Ross resolved to make a journey in the direction of Korea, and get as near the Hermit Nation as was then practicable, with the object of seeing what could be done to introduce the gospel.

Journey to Korean "Gate."

Starting from Newchwang, he reached what is known as the "Gate" of Korea in seven days. Here every obstacle was put in the way of his farther progress. He was not allowed to cross the river Ya-lu, and enter the forbidden land. He found that there were officers stationed at stated distances all along the river, to prevent any person crossing the frontier by day or night. He could not even hire a boat to sail on the river, in order to get a better view of the unknown country. A friendly Korean, however, accepted a copy of the Scriptures and some tracts in Chinese, and freely lent it to his friends. As a result of this, two Koreans found their way to Newchwang at the season when, according to custom, the "Gate" or official barrier was declared open, and intercourse between Korea and China was allowed to natives. They went to learn more of the

"doctrine," and from that time interest in Christianity began to appear.

Other Koreans came for instruction to Moukden; but before the arrival of these men, Dr. Ross had made a second journey to the Korean "Gate," in order to try and learn the language. The laws, however, forbidding all intercourse with foreigners were so severe that he found it impossible at first to get any assistance. The people even denied having any language or literature of their own, so afraid were they of the consequences if they replied truthfully to the foreigner's questions regarding their country. But God, who was clearly leading His servant, provided a teacher in an unexpected way, "stormy wind fulfilling His word" in this instance. A merchant was conveying his goods across the river, when a sudden squall upset the boat, and his merchandise went to the bottom. Finding himself a ruined man, and hearing of the foreigner's desire and his willingness to recompense a teacher well, he offered to give Dr. Ross lessons, provided they were given by night and at some distance off. With this help Dr. Ross soon acquired a knowledge of Korean, and began at once to turn it to account by commencing the translation of the New Testament.

Second journey.

Korean language acquired.

When Dr. Ross came home on furlough in 1879, he brought with him the Four Gospels, Acts, and Romans. During his absence, Mr. Macintyre took up the translation work enthusiastically, with the help of four Koreans. The Bible Society of Scotland cordially agreed to give a grant towards the printing. Individual friends were also raised up to help; one donor providing the means to print

Gospels translated.

3000 copies of the Gospels of Luke and John. A very striking link in the chain of providence comes to light at this stage. Just when the first edition of the Gospel

KOREANS.

in Korean was ready, the long night of Korea's isolation and seclusion came to an end, the publication of the American Treaty with Korea being well-nigh simultaneous with the publication of the Word of God in the

language of the people. For though the Japanese had succeeded in making a treaty with Korea in 1875, which permitted them to open three ports for the purposes of trade, the American Treaty, in 1882, was the thin end of the wedge which broke down Korea's attitude of seclusion towards the West, Britain and the other Powers securing similar treaties shortly afterwards.

Some of the first Korean Gospels that were published were sent by the National Bible Society to Korea by way of Japan, and it is interesting to record that it was a Japanese Christian who was the first to carry the Scriptures into Korea proper; and, strange to say, he and the message of peace and goodwill to men were borne to Korean shores by a Japanese man-of-war! He succeeded in setting up Bible-depôts in the open ports, from which the Scriptures might be sent over the country.

Meanwhile the work of translating and printing had been carried on vigorously at Moukden. Several Koreans had been baptized, and there was no difficulty in getting as many as were required for the translation work to take the seven or eight days' journey from their native valleys to Moukden. The first Korean baptized was a man who had acted as compositor. As soon as another man was secured to do his work, Dr. Ross gave him a supply of Gospels and tracts, and sent him home to act as a colporteur among his friends. This man was a native of one of the numerous valleys which lie on the Manchurian side of the Korean frontier, and which are almost entirely peopled by Koreans. Some months after, he returned to Moukden with the good news that he had not only sold all his books, but that a number

First Korean baptized.

of people were so much impressed by what they had read, that they were desirous of baptism. Provided with a fresh supply of Gospels, he went back again to the valleys, and ere long returned to herald the same good news, that hearts were being touched by the Spirit of God.

During the years 1882 and 1883, thousands of Gospels and tracts found their way to the Korean valleys through Manchuria. About this time another link in the providential chain becomes visible. A rebellion had taken place in Korea, a conservative party having risen against the introduction of foreigners. They were overcome by those in favour of progress, but not before many had been killed and others exiled. One of these exiles, a man with a high literary degree, came across a colporteur during his wanderings. He became interested in the contents of the books he purchased, and by and by found his way to Moukden, where he was baptized shortly afterwards, and returned to the valleys as an unpaid evangelist. The training of the Christian Koreans had not been overlooked: classes were held for them, in order to fit them for future service. One evangelist had already begun work in Korea proper. When he began to sell religious books he was imprisoned, but was released after three months' confinement; and although he was not allowed to open a chapel or preach in the streets, his colportage work was not further interfered with.

Colportage in the valleys.

Other exiles, besides the one already referred to, turned up in Moukden to inquire about Christianity, and became believers ere they left. These refugees, as well as the colporteurs, brought such reports from the valleys as to lead to the belief that

Exiles believe.

a remarkable religious awakening was at hand; so, in order to investigate the matter, Dr. Ross and Mr. Webster started on a journey in the December of 1884. The travelling proved somewhat adventurous, many difficulties in the way of crossing high mountain passes and frozen rivers having to be overcome. When the missionaries reached the first Korean settlement, a warm welcome awaited them. Thirty men had been deputed to meet them, and they were taken to the principal house and hospitably entertained.

They found that in the first valley the people were very enthusiastic about the new doctrine. The examination of candidates was cheering, twenty were baptized, and in the evening ten more farther up the valley received the ordinance. The next day the missionaries went on to the second valley, where twenty-five men were admitted to the Church, and where they found the Christians were about to build a chapel for themselves. Other two valleys were visited, and, including all, seventy-five souls were added to the Church by baptism, while in the case of many others it was deemed expedient to delay administering the sacred rite. The missionaries were deeply impressed, and, as Mr. Webster expressed it, they could but "stand still and see the salvation of God."

Awakening in the valleys.

Truly this movement is a remarkable proof of the gospel's power, when the origin and progress of the movement are taken into account. No missionary had ever entered these valleys; Gospels and tracts had been the silent preachers, combined with the witness-bearing of the few colporteurs who had been brought to Christ in Moukden. Unfortunately, a trying persecution against the Christians broke out the following year. It was the

work of the Chinese landlords, who hired men to attack the converts and destroy their property. When Dr. Ross and Mr. Webster returned in the spring of 1885, they found the position of the Christians so trying, that they quietly withdrew at once, for fear their presence would rouse fresh prejudice and lead to further disaster. The work of grace, however, still goes on in these far-off valleys, but the ever-increasing claims of the work in Manchuria make it impossible that our missionaries can take the long, fatiguing journey, with all its manifold difficulties of travel, except at rare intervals.

Persecution.

Several Missionary Societies, chiefly American, have entered Korea. The labours of our missionaries prepared the way in no small measure for them, not only by the translation work, but through converts who had returned to their own land from Manchuria, and who had been the means of bringing in others of their countrymen. When Dr. Ross visited Seoul, the capital, he was received by a missionary of the American Presbyterian Mission. That very evening a meeting was held for the formation of the first Christian Korean congregation. Thirteen of those present were the converts of a man who had been baptized in Moukden. Thus one soweth, and another reapeth, but in the Lord's presence, who giveth the increase, the workers will rejoice together!

The way prepared.

CHAPTER XV

A LOOK BACK AND A LOOK FORWARD

AT a meeting held in Newchwang in 1892, the British consul paid a high compliment to our Mission in reference to the policy of conciliation which had distinguished it from the beginning. It is of paramount importance that the foundation principles laid down at the commencement of any mission work should be on lines adapted to the social customs and conditions of the people who are to be evangelised. Therefore, when the suspicion and hostility to foreigners evinced by the Chinese are taken into account, the wisdom of a policy which bears affront and opposition rather than seek help from either Chinese or foreign authorities, comes out in strong relief. It is in the midst of opposition and threats that the conciliatory spirit appears most like the Master's, who, "when He was reviled, reviled not again: when He suffered, He threatened not."

Policy of our Mission.

There is no doubt that this principle is one of the strong foundation pillars on which our Mission rests. Only in extreme cases has the arm of the law been leant on, and everything has been done to show the people that the missionary is no political agent, an idea which is not easily eradicated

Conciliation.

from the Chinese mind, owing to the actions of the Roman Catholic priests, who too often act as a shield to their members, and take part in litigations. The policy of our Mission has been to respect Chinese ideas of propriety and etiquette, and in no unnecessary way to go contrary to harmless prejudices. It has also sought to uphold the authority of the Chinese Government officials.

What have been the consequences? The enmity of thousands has been changed to friendly feeling; even the official class have, as a rule, shown confidence and respect; and, greatest triumph of all, it has been one of the indirect means of leading many to inquire the way of salvation, and has had no small share in the rapid growth of the Church throughout Manchuria.

Consequences

The success that has attended our Manchuria Mission rests on another strong pillar. The unfolding of its story bears ample proof of the wisdom of the policy which has sought to use native evangelists as the main instruments in securing the effectual spread of Christianity among the Chinese. We have seen how, from the early days of the Mission, when Dr. Ross had daily meetings with the first few members, reading and explaining to them the Scriptures, on to the present time, the training of the converts in the study of the Bible has held a prominent place. Many of the senior members are now able instructors of others, while some even of the members who cannot read have proved to be more than a match for literary opponents when a controversy has ensued.

Training of converts.

The ablest missionaries throughout China affirm that a well-instructed native Christian is a far more efficient evangelist to his fellow-countrymen than any foreigner

can ever be; certainly, those Missions which have done most in training and sending forth native preachers have the largest number of converts. As the native agency rises to prominence, the missionary's work, far from lessening, grows more exacting. Serious demands are made on all his gifts for organisation and leadership, and perplexing problems have to be faced. He is building for the long future, and facing the time when the people, quickened by the Spirit of God, will be able to walk in the paths of righteousness, unled by him. The founding of the Church, the moulding of its high purposes, and the direction of its advance, have all to be in accord with this aim. Thus, while the foreign missionary wisely marshals for the campaign against idolatry and superstition as large a native force as possible, to him belongs the great work of counselling and encouraging these men, planning and mapping out their work, and quietly leading them on to fresh efforts and nobler aims. The highest and best gifts are required for this service: God and the work alike, claim such.

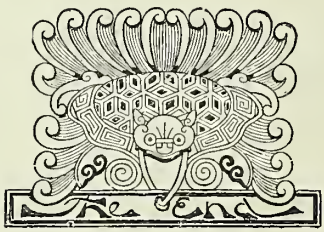
A native agency.

With our own Mission staff soon to be reinforced, and with considerable additions being made to that of the Irish Mission, a prospect of ever-increasing Christian influence is opening up for Manchuria. A strong Mission, presenting a united front to the Chinese, is instinct with hope; and though the evil effects of war may be felt in some directions for many a day to come, they cannot stay the progress of the incoming light nor impede the purposes of the Almighty.

Prospects.

To the unbelieving question, Do Missions pay? the story of the Manchuria Mission replies with no uncertain sound. "O thou of little faith, wherefore

didst thou doubt?" Have not our eyes seen and our ears heard the great things God hath wrought? Thus the keynote struck by the dying Burns must be the one with which we close: "God *will* carry on the good work." Truly a note of faith which will become ever more a note of triumph, till at last it swells into the great victory song: "Alleluia, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth."



APPENDIX

1841.		First Opium War.
1842.		Treaty of Nanking, which made the first breach in China's wall of seclusion.
1851.		Beginning of Tai-ping Rebellion, which lasted for fourteen years.
1857.		Second Opium War.
1858.	June 26.	Treaty of Tien-tsin signed.
1862.	May.	Synod approached regarding the commencement of Mission work in China—gives consent.
,,		Appointment of Dr. William Parker to Ningpo.
1863.	Feb. 2.	Dr. Parker died at Ningpo.
1864.	April.	Dr. John Parker begins work at Ningpo.
1867.	Oct. 6.	Rev. William Burns lands at Newchwang.
1868.	April 4.	Death of the Rev. William Burns at Newchwang.
1870.		Appointment of Mr. Lewis Nicol as an unordained evangelist to Ningpo.
,,		Commencement of work in Chefoo.
,,		Arrangement made with Bible Society to share the services of the Rev. Alexander Williamson.
,,		Appointment of Dr. William A. Henderson to Chefoo.
,,		Massacre at Tien-tsin.
1871.		Synod appoints deputation to confer with the British Government regarding the protection of missionaries in China.
,,		Appointment of the Rev. John Macintyre to Chefoo.
1872.		Legal toleration of Christianity more firmly established in China.
,,		Appointment of the Rev. John Ross to Chefoo.
,,		Commencement of work in Manchuria.
,,		Rev. John Ross and Mrs. Ross go to Newchwang.
,,		Mission wound up in Ningpo.
,,		Dr. John Parker resigns.

1872.		Mr. Lewis Nicol goes to Chefoo, but shortly after resigns on account of health.
1873.	Mar. 31.	Death of Mrs. Ross at Newchwang.
1874.		Mr. Ross travels to the Korean "Gate."
,,		Commencement of work at Wei-Hsien in Shan-tung.
,,		Marked advance in Manchuria: the Church founded with a membership of thirteen.
1875.		Mr. Macintyre joins Mr. Ross in Manchuria.
1876.		Work begun in Moukden by the evangelists Wang and Tang.
,,		Work begun in Hai-cheng.
1877.		Famine in North China and in Southern Manchuria.
,,		Appointment of Miss Martin and Miss Doig to Chefoo.
1878.		Resignation of Miss Martin and Miss Doig.
1879.		Rev. John Ross goes home on furlough, taking the Gospel in Korean with him.
1880.		Eleven Koreans under instruction at Moukden.
1881.		Appointment of Dr. A. Macdonald Westwater and the Rev. Alexander Westwater to Chefoo.
,,		Appointment of Miss Barbara M. Pritty.
1882.		Appointment of the Rev. James Webster and Dr. Dugald Christie to Manchuria.
,,		Boarding-school for girls opened at Moukden.
,,		America's Treaty with Korea signed.
,,		Publication of the Gospel in Korean.
,,		Commencement of work in Liao-yang.
1883.		Medical Mission work begun in Moukden.
1884.		Remarkable awakening and baptisms in the Korean valleys.
1885.		Death of Old Wang.
,,		Commencement of work in Tieh-ling.
1886.		Concentration of work in Manchuria.
,,		Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Westwater and Dr. and Mrs. A. M. Westwater transferred to Manchuria.
,,		Dr. Williamson devotes his time to the production and circulation of a Christian literature for China.
,,		Blind Chang converted.
,,		Opening of work in the district of Tai-ping-kou.
,,	Aug. 24.	Death of Mrs. Williamson.
,,		Great floods and subsequent famine in Manchuria.
1887.	Feb. 18.	Death of the Rev. Alexander Westwater.
,,		Mrs. Alexander Westwater decides to remain in Manchuria, and is appointed a missionary.

1887.			Appointment of the Rev. James A. Wylie.
,,			Erection of hospital in Moukden.
1888.			More serious floods : dire distress.
,,			Work begun in Kai-yuen.
,,			Appointment of Dr. Thomas M. Young.
1889.			Erection of church in Moukden, opened on 22nd October.
1890.	Sept.	2.	Death of the Rev. Alexander Williamson, LL.D., at Chefoo.
,,	Aug.	5.	Death of Mrs. Young at Moukden.
,,			Appointment of the Rev. Daniel T. Robertson.
,,			Appointment of the Rev. George Douglas.
,,			Appointment of Miss Struthers and Miss Wilson.
,,			Union with Irish Presbyterian Mission.
1891.	April	14.	Death of Mrs. Christie at Bothwell.
,,			Dr. and Mrs. Westwater remove from Hai-cheng to Liao-yang.
,,			Mr. Robertson and Dr. Young take a journey to prospect the Sungari district.
,,			Resignation of Miss Wilson.
,,			Appointment of the Rev. James W. Inglis.
,,			Appointment of Miss Eliza C. Inglis.
,,			Conference at Moukden.
,,			Formation of native Presbytery.
,,			Appointment of Dr. David C. Gray.
1892.			Miss Struthers resigns, and is married to the Rev. George Douglas.
,,	May.		First meeting of native Presbytery.
,,			Opening of new station at Shuang-cheng-pu in Sungari district. Dr. Young and Mr. Robertson appointed pioneers.
,,			Work begun at A-shih-ho, Sungari district.
,,			Opening of hospital in Liao-yang.
,,			Miss Inglis resigns, and is married to Dr. Christie.
,,			Appointment of Miss M. J. Sinclair.
,,			Mrs. Alexander Westwater begins work in Liao-yang.
,,			Training home for Bible-women and small hospital for women opened in Liao-yang.
1894.			Inauguration of new Theological Training Scheme for Chinese evangelists.
,,			Proposal agreed to that Mr. Webster should open up a new centre at Kai-yuen as soon as practicable.
,,	Aug.	1.	Japan's declaration of war with China.
,,	Aug.	10.	Rev. Jas. A. Wylie attacked by soldiers in Liao-yang.

1894.	Aug. 16.	Death of the Rev. James A. Wylie.
,,		Mrs. Westwater resigns.
,,		Appointment of Dr. Kate K. Paton.
,,		Appointment of Miss Emily C. Jones.
,,		Appointment of Miss Mary S. Davidson.
,,		Appointment of Dr. Mary C. Horner.
,,		Appointment of the Rev. John M. Macfie.
,,		Appointment of the Rev. James Stobie.
,,	Dec.	The missionaries leave the interior and take up residence at the port of Newchwang.
,,	Dec.	Red Cross work begun among wounded soldiers at Newchwang.
1895.	Mar. 6.	The Japanese take possession of the port of Newchwang.
,,		Miss Sinclair resigns, and is married to Dr. C. Gray.
,,		Proclamation of peace.
,,		Appointment of Dr. D. D. Muir.
1896.		Appointment of the Rev. J. Miller Graham.
,,		Appointment of Dr. J. M. Grieve.

STATISTICS FOR YEAR ENDING 31ST OCTOBER 1894.

	Members.	Candidates.	Baptisms.
Hai-cheng . . .	115	...	16
Chin-tsai-kou . . .	66	...	4
Da-shi-chiao . . .	135	...	34
Liao-yang . . .	188	4	22
Moukden . . .	822	80	72
Tieh-ling . . .	252	100	51
Kai-yuen . . .	495	100	70
Mai-mai-kai . . .	248	50	23
Sungari	20	...	...
	2341	334	292.

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MISSION MAP OF MANCHURIA

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